ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Crown Copyright documents reproduced by courtesy of The National Archives, London, England.
www.nationalarchives.gov.uk

The National Archives give no warranty as to the accuracy, completeness or fitness for the purpose of the information provided.

Images may be used only for purposes of research, private study or education. Applications for any other use should be made to The National Archives Image Library, Kew, Richmond, Surrey TW9 4DU.

EASTERN

1947

F.O.
371

PALESTINE

FILE No. 951

pp. 10020 - 10205

Reference: FO 371/61885

61885

336

E

PALESTINE

E 10020

28 OCT

2

1947

Registry Number } E 10020/951/31

TELEGRAM FROM U.K. Del New York

No. 3074

Dated

Received in Registry } 27 Oct 28

Rumoured date of withdrawal.

Refer New York tel 3049 (E 9976/951/31) In the absence of any official denial the rumour is gaining credence, and is having unfortunate effects. Chairman and Vice Chairman of Political Committee, who are canvassing support for an attempt at conciliation, report that they meet with sympathy, but with an insufficient sense of urgency. They have again appealed for announcement of date of withdrawal.

Last Paper.

9997

References.

(Minutes.)

A reply has already been sent on E 9976.

Now please see E 10029

28/10

(Print.)

61885

Sir O. Sargent has asked to see this tel. minuted. I submit a separate minute and draft tel.

J.B. Beith
Oct. 29

(How disposed of.)

8, Mathieson C.O.
M.1.3 a.
M.O.4
Admiralty
A.M.
Oct 29
(on E 9995/951/31)

29

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

36/8/48

Next Paper.

10026

Please let me see minuted OSO

3

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

Cypher/OTP WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 3074 D. 11.01 a.m. 27th October 1947

27th October 1947 R. 5.22 p.m. 27th October 1947

Repeated to High Commissioner Jerusalem
Washington (Saving)

IMMEDIATE
GIANT

My telegram No. 3049.

Rumours of British withdrawal by March 1949.

In the absence of any official denial this rumour is gaining credence here and is having unfortunate effects.

2. The Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Palestine Committee who are canvassing support for an attempt at conciliation, report that they meet with sympathy in many Delegations but with an insufficient sense of urgency. They have again appealed to us to announce the date of British withdrawal.

Foreign Office please pass to Jerusalem Immediate as my telegram No. 119.

[Copies sent to Telegraph Section, Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem].

ccc

4

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

Cypher/OTP WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

E

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 3074 D. 11.01 a.m. 27th October 1947

27th October 1947 R. 5.22 p.m. 27th October 1947

Repeated to High Commissioner Jerusalem
Washington (Saving)

IMMEDIATE
GIANT

9976

My telegram No. 3049.

Rumours of British withdrawal by March 1949.

In the absence of any official denial this rumour is gaining credence here and is having unfortunate effects.

2. The Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Palestine Committee who are canvassing support for an attempt at conciliation, report that they meet with sympathy in many Delegations but with an insufficient sense of urgency. They have again appealed to us to announce the date of British withdrawal.

Foreign Office please pass to Jerusalem Immediate as my telegram No. 119.

[Copies sent to Telegraph Section, Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem].

ecc

327

E

E 10026

28 OCT

5

1947

PALESTINE

Registry Number: E10026/951/31

FROM: Clancey

No.: Washington

Dated: 15/329/47.

Received in Registry: 17 Oct 28 –

U.S and Soviet Statements U.S. Comment.

Refer Washington letter 15/316/47 (E9425/951/31)
Encloses various newspaper cuttings commenting on statements by U.S & Soviet delegates, both of which have been generally welcomed.

Last Paper

10020

References

3015

(Print)

(How disposed of)

8, Washington 60
~~Oct.~~ Nov. 1

(Minutes.)

Copy to C.O. (Mr. Mathieson)

N.A. Dept. "1"

(T.E. CABLE)
28/10

JB Oct. 28

(Action completed)

(Index)

Next Paper

10027

33533

E 6

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.
17th October 1947

E 10020
28 OCT

Ref: 15/329/47
RESTRICTED

Dear Department,

Please refer to our letter 15/316/47 of the 4th October about U.S. comment on Mr. Creech-Jones' statement on Palestine.

2. Very considerable attention has naturally been paid to the statements subsequently made by the United States and Soviet delegates, both of which have been generally welcomed. The St. Louis Post Dispatch alone attempts to put Mr. Herschell Johnson's statement in a wider setting by saying that destiny has at last caught up with the United States in that it has for the first time been acknowledged that history has given the United States a role even in troubles not of its own making (sic). Other newspapers tend rather to speak of the United States move in the setting of its responsibilities as a great power in the United Nations, with all the influence which flows from that position, and of the stand taken by Congress on the question.

3. There is little disposition to enquire deeply into the question of implementation, although that problem is widely recognised to be serious. Some newspapers, like the New York Times, produce benevolent but woolly editorials which do little more than paraphrase Mr. Herschel Johnson's remarks. Others, perhaps fearing U.S. participation in this thorny undertaking, draw attention to his implied suggestion that Britain should continue to administer during the interim period. At the same time P.M., which is numbered in this group, considers that Johnson's remarks on this point could be interpreted as paving the way for disowning U.S. responsibilities under cover of reminding Britain of hers. Others again, represented by the Washington Daily

/News

Eastern Department,
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1.

News and the New York Post, say openly that Britain should not be left with the administration of the country. The latter calls for an all-out American effort to help the United Nations, but recommends a police force recruited from countries other than the Big Five. The former quotes Britain's past experience as showing the impossibility of a single nation's attempting the task and suggests a police force created from volunteers who are not partisan. The Baltimore Sun takes a stronger line and regards Mr. Herschel Johnson's statement as implying that the United States is pledged to back the United Nations' decision, whatever he may have said about the duties of Britain.

4. Nearly all newspapers which have commented on the Soviet statement draw attention to the fact that it represents one of the rare occasions on which U.S. and Soviet policy seem to be in accord. This development is regarded as making the problem somewhat more manageable. The New York Herald Tribune thinks that it may give the United Nations some much needed encouragement in that it shows that the United Nations can work as they were intended to work, at least where a problem exists in which the interests of the great powers are not immediately involved. It considers that the U.S. Government should ponder the fact that the Soviet Union is willing to abandon power politics when it feels it can afford to do so and that trivial or irritating opposition to the Soviet Union should be dropped where no vital link in the chain against Soviet encroachment is at stake.

5. Editorial writers are on the whole willing to take the Soviet statement at its face value. But in a leader entitled "Flowers from Moscow" the Washington Post seeks to probe a little deeper into Soviet motives and to explain why the Soviet Union has apparently swapped horses. This paper considers that the Russians have in recent years felt that they had more in common with the Palestinian Jews than with the Arabs. The Zionists can no longer be described as "the lackeys of the British imperialists" and their progressive

/community

community offers a greater and more rewarding field for Soviet Union activities than does that of the backward Arabs, who would in any case hesitate to lean upon Moscow. Moreover the rapid removal of Britain from the country must be the main Soviet aim.

6. One or two newspapers draw attention to the fact that on the question of implementation the Soviet delegate was even less explicit than the American delegate, although it is likely that he will have more to say at a later stage.

7. All in all it is fair to say that the U.S. press considers that there is now a reasonable chance of a large enough majority being secured in the United Nations for partition and that some way will be found of securing its implementation. But it is evident that the prospect of any large U.S. share in this is still viewed with alarm by most people and that any proposals for avoiding it would not be unwelcome.

8. We enclose herein editorials from the New York Times, Herald Tribune, P.M., St. Louis Post Dispatch and Washington Daily News on the U.S. statement, and from the New York Times, Herald Tribune and Washington Post on the Soviet statement.

We are sending copies of this letter to Jerusalem and to the U.K. Delegation at New York.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY

NEW YORK TIMES OCT 12 1947

9

THE STATEMENT ON PALESTINE

The statement delivered by Herschel V. Johnson, for the United States, before the Assembly Committee on the Palestinian Question yesterday must strike most Americans as a fair-minded and practical approach to a distressing problem. Our Government has accepted as a matter of course the unanimous recommendations of U. N.'s Committee on Palestine. It has accepted, with "amendments and modifications," the majority recommendations for partition.

Peace and security are not attainable without justice, if justice can be done where so much injustice has been done by and to all the interested parties. Therefore the United States proposes that the predominantly Arab city of Jaffa be given to the Arabs rather than to the Zionists, as the committee report suggested. Other territorial adjustments are contemplated. Justice also requires the protection of minorities and equality of treatment, including constitutional guarantees, "guarantees regarding equal economic opportunity," and "guaranteed access to ports and to water and power facilities on a non-discriminatory basis." Nothing less, surely, would be acceptable to American public opinion.

But the laying down of principles for an area swept by reckless violence is not sufficient. There must be strength behind the principles. The United States declaration assumes that the Charter will not be violated—that is, that the Arab countries will not invade Jewish Palestine. But there must be internal strength of two sorts if the partition plan is to succeed. There must be economic and financial strength. There must be some kind of internal police force to keep order after the British, at some unstated but certainly contemplated time, withdraw their troops. The United States is ready to join in a United Nations program to provide economic and financial assistance—which can only mean, in the present state of the world, that we are willing to provide the bulk of such assistance ourselves. We do not offer to send United States troops into Palestine, but apparently we are ready to help support "a special constabulary or police force recruited on a volunteer basis by the United Nations."

As the partition plan stands it awaits further discussion and, as Mr. Johnson said yesterday, the working out of "the details of a program" which could be recommended to the General Assembly. We have to remember that the Assembly's power is its ability to appeal from partisan interests to the court of world opinion. Objectors might find it difficult to stand against a plan put forward by the overwhelming majority of the states and populations represented in the Assembly.

Any plan for Palestine must be a compromise. But we believe that all Americans, of whatever faith and of whatever previous opinion, can support the principles of yesterday's statement. Previous differences should give way now that the problem has been formally referred to the United Nations and now that our Government has taken a reasoned position with regard to it. We must now fervently hope for a final and peaceful solution. We have a right to expect that all concerned will keep the peace until such a solution has been reached. If any do not, their actions will reflect adversely on the side which sanctioned the violations.

46

10

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE OCT 12 1947

A Constructive Move

Men of good will the world over will welcome the move the United States has made to break the Palestine deadlock by paving the way for decisive United Nations action. Mr. Herschel V. Johnson, the American delegate, has put this country on record as approving in principle the partition of the Holy Land into Jewish and Arab states. But he has gone further than that. He has expressed America's willingness to help enforce such a solution by taking part in an international constabulary or police force, recruited on a voluntary basis through the United Nations, to keep law and order during the period of transition from British rule.

The Palestine problem has been called insoluble, and it is so in the sense that a solution completely acceptable to all interested parties no longer exists. In the absence of an ideal arrangement, the best one possible must be devised. Both the Anglo-American committee that went to Palestine last year and the special committee sent more recently by the United Nations found that partition, with all its obvious drawbacks, offered the best hopes for peace in this country where religious feelings and nationalist aspirations, strategic considerations and economic interests conspire to make a reasonable settlement infinitely difficult.

Mr. Johnson recommends modification of some details of the partition plan proposed by the special committee. He endorses "in principle" its recommendation to admit 150,000 Jewish displaced persons—victims of Nazi terror—into Palestine during the interim period. These are matters that can be worked out by the General Assembly. That body must first, however, agree to the principle of partition, and it must agree to give force to its own decisions through some such scheme of enforcement as that suggested by the American delegation.

Much will depend on the attitude of the two other great powers—Russia and Britain. The British have been asked not to withdraw before the United Nations can take over, assuring a smooth transition. The alternative could hardly fail to be chaos and armed strife on a scale unprecedented even in Palestine. While the British are strongly opposed to the suggested partition, they have not been able to produce any other workable plan. Russia is less directly interested in the problem, and there are no considerations affecting its own security which might move it to oppose the American proposal. It is to be hoped that the Russians will not do so merely to embarrass the United States.

The United Nations now have an opportunity to take united action. It has been shown that the peace organization is not ready to act in matters involving the vital interests of great powers. An initial success in this more restricted controversy would at least help counteract the growing sense of frustration at the General Assembly and keep alive hopes that at some future time the United Nations will be able to function effectively in the broader sphere.

47

St. Louis Post Dispatch, 12th October 1947 11

Decision on Palestine.

Destiny caught up with the United States yesterday. It happened when the American delegate to the United Nations Assembly announced that we will support the partition of Palestine between Jew and Arab under United Nations auspices. Thus, we have for the first time acknowledged that history has given us a role even in troubles not of our own making.

It would have been easier to continue Palestine as exclusively a British worry. As Bartley Crum suggested, the United States might have gone to the Permanent Court of International Justice with a petition that London be made to carry out the terms of the League of Nations mandate. But Washington has recognized that behind the British notice of withdrawal is plain inability to carry on, that the British must be relieved of the burden, no matter how they added to its weight by their own mistakes.

Our maturity is demonstrated by insistence on eventual freedom, and of a transfer of interim authority to the governments of the world collectively rather than to a new trustee. The chosen device-partition-is not a very happy one, yet every other alternative seems less happy. The Arabs still resist partition, but all concerned resist every other formula. And since some one formula must soon be applied, we at least have chosen what seems the lesser evil. Furthermore, we suggest that the U.N. mitigate it-for instance, by giving Jaffa to the Arabs.

Washington is aware that even this may not placate them and therefore warns the Arabs against trying to block partition with armed force. Here comes the only weakness in the American statement: after calling for an international volunteer constabulary to police the new arrangement, it opens a loop-hole through which we might escape from positive action in case the Arab League actually went to war. The United States either goes into this thing with the United Nations, or it does not. However, though the Arabs may riot they are not likely to go to war, not even with Russian urging. They are too hungry for Western money. They could hardly make war without it.

So things stand. They are not pretty. Yet in spite of India's Mrs. Pandit, some action must be taken if only because of the pressure of Europe's displaced persons. We might have opened our gates to some of these. It would be better, too, if the constructive labors of the Jews could be the uplifting leaven in a federalized Palestine. But the only open way is the way of compromise-enforced compromise-with international sanction, backed by the United States. Destiny, alas, brings its burdens.

12

OPINION

The Continuing U. S. Responsibility on Palestine

To President Truman and Secretary Marshall must go credit for Herschel Johnson's splendid introductory statement, on Saturday, of the U. S. position on Palestine.

The speech not only reflects the overriding authority of the two men on American foreign policy, but is also in part authorized directly by the President. Several important sentences are lifted directly from a letter written by the President on Oct. 28, last year, to King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia.

Having said so much, it is necessary to stress that the statement's true worth is yet to be tested not only by future American attitudes in the UN Palestine Committee, but also in UN's corridors and corners—and, eventually and above all, in the attitude taken by U. S. diplomacy *vis a vis* the United Kingdom.

We Still Rely On Britain

For close examination of the Johnson speech shows clearly how much the Americans, in supporting partition, are relying upon the cooperation of a Britain which for perhaps ten years has been a sworn and open enemy of any plan to establish a strong Jewish state in Palestine. (*See I. F. Stone's story on Page 8 for reports on current British machinations.*)

The fateful fact is that the British do not have to wreck the partition plan for Palestine by any overt moves in the meeting rooms of UN. They can do so covertly, and more devastatingly, by acts of omission or commission within Palestine itself.

So America's share of responsibility for the future of Palestine, so freely admitted in Johnson's speech, must not and cannot be limited to decisions taken at Lake Success. The frontier of our responsibility lies on the banks of the Jordan.

Johnson's Answer To the Arabs

Here is what Johnson said Saturday on this score:

It may be recalled that as a result of the first world war, a large area of the Near East, including Palestine, was liberated and a number of states gained their independence. The U. S., having contributed its blood and resources to the winning of that war, felt that it could not divest itself of a certain responsibility for the manner in which the freed territories were disposed of, or for the fate of the peoples liberated at that time. It took the position that these people should be prepared for self-government and also that a national home for the Jews should be established in Palestine.

The last two sentences of this quotation were lifted directly from the President's communication to the King of Saudi Arabia last year in answer to the latter's protest against White House support of Jewish immigration into Palestine. The first sentence is a close paraphrase of other material in the letter.

As the President pointed out in his letter, and as Johnson repeated Saturday, the pledge to Arabs of their independence has been largely redeemed, while the pledge of a Jewish National Home has not yet been carried out.

Johnson then goes on to assert U. S. support of the "basic principles" of the plan for partition and immigration recommended by the majority of the UN Special Committee on Palestine. He reserved the right to urge certain geographic modifications and asserted U. S. interest in maintaining, as between Arab and Jew, equal economic rights and access to ports and water power rights on a "non-discriminatory basis."

We do not know yet what "geographic modifications" the U. S. has in mind other than the transfer of Jaffa to the Arabs—a step which Zionists will not too strongly oppose. As to Arab-Jewish equality in economic rights and in access to ports, this is merely a reaffirmation of a principle embodied in the UNSCOP report itself.

Johnson then said:

The General Assembly did not, by admitting this item (i.e., the Palestine problem) to its agenda, undertake to assume responsibility for the administration of Palestine during the process of transition to independence. Responsibility for the government of Palestine now rests with the mandatory power.

Two-Edged Passage

Clearly, this is a rebuke to Great Britain for its threat to "run out" of Palestine before UN has had a chance to take hold (certain alarming possibilities of such a "run out" are pictured in Stone's story). But beyond this, the implications of the passage are not at all clear. By thus reminding Britain of its present responsibilities, the U. S. could be paving the way for disowning its own.

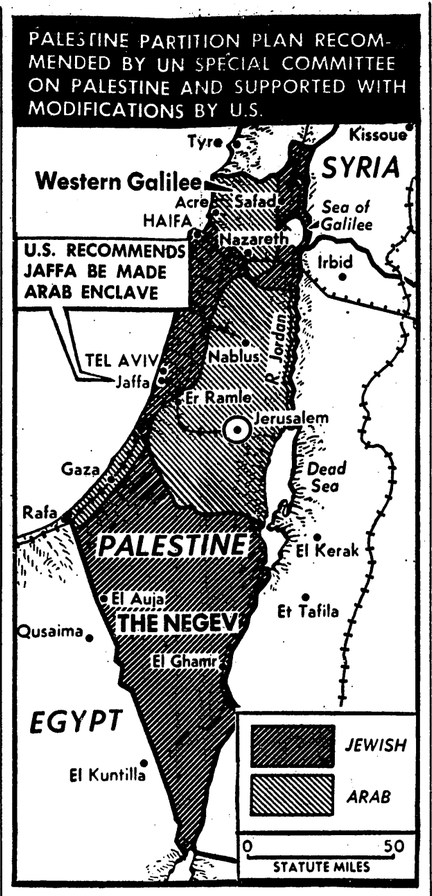
I do not say this was Johnson's intent. I merely point out that the passage is two-edged, and its real meaning can only become known as the U. S develops its position at Lake Success.

Johnson then made plain U. S. readiness to co-operate with UN in the "establishment" of a workable settlement in Palestine and, again echoing the Presidential letter of last October, offered this country's co-operation in meeting economic and financial problems. Regarding the question of maintaining law and order during the transition period, the U. S. spokesman advanced the suggestion, since hotly discussed pro and con, of the creation by the UN of a voluntary "special constabulary or police force."

Sneering Reference

The Syrian delegate to UN has since sharply attacked this plan—as he attacked almost every sentence in the U. S. statement — and sneeringly referred to the likelihood that such a police force would be composed entirely of Jews.

But such a voluntary force could also be comprised of free-booting adventurers of the type which, in part, comprises the French Foreign Legion. I can imagine mercenaries of all lands, including Fascist-minded DPs of Baltic or Polish origin who would rush to join a force which



would give them good clothes, good pay, good food and a chance to crack Jews over the head.

Such a voluntary force would be as vigorously opposed by Jews as Syria opposes the creation of an all-Jewish force. And, pending further clarification, it it would be wise to withhold judgment on any enforcement plan involving use of volunteers.

Johnson emphasized in his speech that the U. S., in suggesting a special constabulary, had in mind only the quelling of any disturbances arising within Palestine. He explained:

We do not refer to the possibility of violations by any member (i.e., of UN) of its obligations to refrain in its international relations from the threat or use of force. We assume that there will be Charter observance.

This, of course, is a direct slap at the saber-rattling Arab League states which are threatening to over-run Palestine.

What is important to remember in this connection is that any such Arab invasion could only be made with the active or passive connivance of the British, who support the well-trained Transjordan Legion lock, stock and barrel, and whose officers and weapons are the backbone of the military forces, such as they are, which Iraq and Syria can put into the field.

So, when the U. S. "assumes" that UN members will observe the Charter in refraining from the use or threat of force, in practical terms it is warning the British as well as the Arabs.

Parallel to Greek Situation

There is a deadly parallel to this whole situation in the Greek issue, on which the U. S. has taken a fierce and unrelenting stand against what it terms interference by Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania in the internal affairs of Greece. And no one at UN has been left in any doubt that, in the eyes of the U. S., the USSR stands behind this "intervention."

On the basis of Washington's view of the Greek issue, then a substitution of Palestine for Greece puts the Arab states into the asserted roles of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania, and Britain into the asserted role of the USSR.

What follows is clear: Unless U. S. opposition to any intervention tactics by the Arab states or by Britain is as thorough and relentless as its opposition to the Slavs in the Balkans has proved to be, then the whole foundation of the U. S. case on Greece collapses.

This is said, it must be emphasized, without any discussion of the merits of the U. S. position on Greece. The U. S. believes its case has merits. All one can say at this point is that not until the U. S. puts into its fight for a Jewish state in Palestine all the energy and skill and passion that it has put into its fight in the Balkans can it be said that the pledge implicit in the Johnson speech has been carried out.—VICTOR H. BERNSTEIN.

48

Palestine Jews Tell of Syria Units At Border

By Associated Press

JERUSALEM

Jewish informants in Haifa reported last night that Syrian troops equipped with some armored cars and other heavy weapons had encamped near the Palestine frontier in an area adjacent to 15 Jewish agricultural settlements. (*UP estimated the number of troops at 2000.*)

The sources quoted Jewish settlers in the area as saying some of the troops were concentrated near the Syrian villages of Kuneitra and Banias just north of the finger of Palestine which juts into Syria and Lebanon.

Arab troops patrolling the Palestine side of the frontier and units of Hagana, Jewish defense army, have been alerted, the informants added.

(An airplane tour along 300 miles of the northern and eastern borders of Palestine on Saturday by an AP correspondent failed to reveal any troop concentrations within 20 miles of either side.)

The informants said some of the Syrian patrols had passed "quite close" to the Palestine border. The Jewish settlements were reported to have been alerted.

Last Thursday the Arab League Council in a meeting at Beirut, Lebanon, voted to cordon off what it called "terrorist organizations and Zionist forces" in Palestine by moving troops from the Arab countries in the League up to the boundaries of the Holy Land.

(*UP reported that the Jewish extremist underground organization Irgun Zvai Leumi pledged its members of the Zionist recruiting drive against a threatened Arab attack and indicated it would be willing to join with the Hagana in any battle.*)

(*Three members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine—Bartley C. Crum, James G. McDonald, Frank W. Buxton—in a statement issued yesterday said that Syria, Lebanon and Iraq were so militarily weak "they cannot defend their own countries."*)

Savings Bond dollars do double

Morgenthau Asks UN Back U. S. Zion Stand

WASHINGTON

Henry Morgenthau, former Secretary of the Treasury and chairman of the United Jewish Appeal, yesterday called on UN to approve the U. S. stand on the partition of Palestine.

Speaking before the closing session of the two-day United Palestine Appeal conference, Morgenthau termed the U. S. statement on Palestine "magnificent" and urged UN members to "read it several times and vote yes."

Gen. Joseph T. McNarney, former commander of U. S. occupation troops in Germany, said the UNSCOP report marked "the beginning of a new deal for the Jewish people." He told the conference that the only solution of the Jewish problem lies in resettlement in Palestine "and this action must be taken in the near future."

McNarney's views were shared by economist Robert Nathan, who said prospects for partitioning are "most favorable."

How U. S. Policy Errs in Trieste

By THOMAS F. REYNOLDS

TRIESTE

PM Exclusive

The great weakness of the Marshall program and of the entire U. S. policy toward Europe, which is hard to see in Italy, shows more clearly in this international island of democracy where the East meets the West.

The weakness is the fact that while the U. S. A. is trying desperately, with some success, to capture the honest friendship, if not the allegiance, of the political leaders, Russian Communism is capturing the allegiance of the producers and the mechanism of the great productive forces of the area.

Here in Trieste where Italian nationalism might be expected to override Communist influence in the labor movement, a small minority of Communists is steadily taking control of the labor force which controls the port.

Best estimates are that real hard-bitten Communists comprise less than 1.5 per cent of the total population of 300,000 in the Anglo-American Zone of the free territory of Trieste. Yet from that trifling nucleus, the Syndicata Unita, which is Communist-directed, claims 42,000 members and actually dominates the heavy industries and port facilities on which this great Adriatic gateway depends for life.

The pro-Italian labor chamber, which is anti-Communist, also claims 42,000 members but it is strongest in white collar workers, whereas the Syndicata has a tight grip on the truly productive industries from which future wealth and therefore future power must flow.

As in Italy the Communists are not ready for action here, probably because Trieste and all Italy is deadly sick of strikes and any form of disorder. Yet even under the restrictive yoke of the Anglo-American military government, which is the caretaker until the UN appoints an impartial governor, the Syndicata is gradually, almost leisurely, expanding.

The military government, under U. S. Maj. Gen. Bryant Moore, recognizes this problem and economic officers cooperate closely with the labor chamber is an attempt to accelerate the spread of pro-democratic labor ideas. But as there is no place for American policy to meet with the hopes and aspirations of the workers, and despite the fact that the U. S. is providing food and materials for the postwar era, more and more workers are succumbing to the lure of Communist cries for fundamental economic reforms.

'Pravda' Accuses UN

By Associated Press

MOSCOW

Correspondents for *Pravda*, Communist Party organ, declared the U. S. A. was endeavoring to transform the UN staff into an "American office."

Chiang's Military, Financial, Political Position Looks Bad

By JAMES D. WHITE

Associated Press Foreign Affairs Analyst

It looks like something might pop in China.

Seldom, if ever, has the National government been on quite such slippery skids. Its money has dropped to 84,000 to one U. S. dollar. The long-range military picture is bad.

(Dispatches from Peiping said Communist infantry, charging in behind heavy artillery barrages, were assaulting the Manchurian railway town of Tiehling. These dispatches described the battle as the greatest of the present Communist offensive, and added that government quarters said it might affect the entire war situation in Manchuria. Tiehling, 40 miles northeast of Mukden, is regarded as the northern gateway to Mukden.)

There are hints of political unrest.

In Nanking obstreperous officials have impeached Chiang Kai-shek's brother-in-law.

As the Communists made an open bid last week for Chinese to overthrow Chiang and form a coalition government the possibility arose that these scattered movements might merge into a single force for political upset.

A non-Communist Chinese in New York, retired Gen. Feng Yu-hsiang told a press conference that Chiang Kai-shek's prosecution of the civil war was driving China into the arms of the Communists. Feng also announced, as a fact, a political purge which Chiang was rumored to have carried out in Pieping. Ostensibly the Generalissimo had flown up to overhaul his sagging campaign in Manchuria. Unofficial reports said he also cracked down on high officers who favored ending the civil war through a deal with the Communists for a coalition government. (Later reports tell of a similar purge, with executions, at Sian.)

Feng Yu-hsiang said the Peiping officers were arrested "because they hoped for a democratic China instead of a dictatorship under a second Hitler."

(In Nanking, a responsible official of China's ruling party, the Kuomintang, said Gen. Feng "very likely will be among the first purged from the party.")

ear for 3 Days

d Press

RL HARBOR

craft PCE 881 day at the spot st of Palmyra and four drift- were sighted

s, lashed up as when their tug, Grim, cut them almyra to refuel e spotted Satur- despread aerial kept them under yesterday. Fliers William B. Hop- , D. C., and Hor- Leonard Metts,

THE PALESTINE PROPOSAL.

Our Government has accepted in principle and with modifications the majority report of the United Nations Palestine Investigating Committee, for partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states and for limited Jewish immigration. Tho this is far from an ideal solution, prolonged strife between Jewish and Arab extremists has made partition the lesser of evils.

The fact that it is recommended by the committee majority-a committee on which no great power was represented-is in itself a potent additional reason for acceptance. For failure of the Jews and Arabs to agree, and failure of Britain as mandate power to offer a solution, make it more important than ever that the UN majority decide. This, certainly, moved our Government to get off the fence where it has been perched so long. We hope Russia will cease its similar straddle and go along with the majority.

The State Department's proposed modifications of the committee report are all to the good, in our judgment. Jaffa, with its predominantly Arab population, should not be included in the Jewish state. All Palestinians of whatever race or religion should have equal access to ports, to water and power facilities, as well as equal economic opportunities and civil liberties.

Our Government was particularly wise in proposing that law and order during the interim period be in the hands of a UN constabulary of volunteers. Britain's experience proves that no one nation can act alone in Palestine effectively, and especially no nation or nations with self-interest in the Middle East. That applies to the United States, France and Russia no less than to Britain. Any nation foolish enough to put itself in the untenable position of interested Palestine policeman with alleged partisanship can only do harm to Palestine and itself.

Enforcement of a UN decision is clearly a UN responsibility to be undertaken by an international force. Since no UN police force is available for the purpose, one should be created from volunteers who are not partisans. That should be done immediately after the Assembly makes its policy decision. Britain has given sufficient notice that she is turning her international mandate over to the UN. To expect her to continue holding the bag during another year or so of Palestinian violence, while the UN luxuriates in endless debate, is as unfair as it is dangerous.

That would encourage more internal strife, and even the international war which the Arab nations threaten if a Jewish state is carved our of Palestine. In event of external aggression, as distinct from the civil disorders, the Security Council would have to act directly. In the absence of an international army-which Russia has prevented from being formed-all of the grea powers, including the United States, would have the obligation of defending Palestine.

The U.S. spokesman, in his implied warning against aggression, "assumed that there will be Charter observance/"" Obviously that will depend on prompt and sincere support by the great powers of the Assembly's decision-especially by the United States, Britain and Russia.

Meanwhile, any Arabs or Jews who resort to violence will foul their own case and risk guilt for another war.

15

New York Herald Tribune 14th October 1947

How U. N. Should Work

The Russian statement on Palestine yesterday sensibly swept away all the tangled appeals to ancient history and the involved legalities, with which both Arabs and Jews have been urging their cases, in order to take a coldly practical view of the situation as it exists. Starting with that approach, the statement accepted "in principle" the majority report of the United Nations Special Committee; it rejected as now demonstrably "impossible" the minority solution of a bi-national state (which was supposed to have Russian support) and unreservedly supported a decision for partition as a "great step forward."

Like the American statement on Saturday, it declared for an independent Jewish state; also like the American statement, it expressed reservations on the territorial proposals of the committee, and it stressed the unsolved problems of the transition period in terms perhaps more vague and containing more possible loopholes than those used by the United States. We have certainly not yet seen the end of the tragic issues of Palestine. But it is impossible to read this statement as anything save a declaration that in dealing with these issues the Russians are ready to act fairly and rationally on the merits. They have put aside the temptation, if it was a temptation to them, to fish in these troubled waters for political advantage. They have committed themselves substantially to the position to which the United States is also committed; and with substantial agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union there is little doubt that a viable settlement, proof alike against Arab propaganda and Zionist extremism, can be worked out.

To this newspaper it seems an extraordinarily hopeful moment in the grim history of the Palestine question. But even more than that, it is a hopeful moment in the frustrated history of the United Nations. Here is one instance of U. N. working as it was intended to work—attacking a bad situation, bringing world opinion to bear, applying the instruments of investigation, study and debate, developing effective agreement among the great powers involved and so adumbrating workable settlement. It is a process which obviously cannot operate where there is a direct clash of vital political interest among the great powers, as there is in Greece, for example; and it is useless if not dangerous to attempt to apply it in such situations. But in those areas where the interests involved are not vital to the great powers it can work to admirable effect. U. N. was never intended to function except in a world where great-power peace had already been made. The Palestine case is a reminder of how valuable U. N. can be once that basic condition has been established.

Meanwhile the Russian statement, abandoning power politics in a special problem where the Soviet Union evidently feels that it can afford to abandon them, is worth some pondering by those directing American policy. This newspaper believes that at every vital point the line must be held against Soviet encroachment. But that is all the more reason for dropping merely trivial or irritating opposition and earnestly seeking to meet the Russian position wherever we on our side can possibly afford to do so.

52

16

WASHINGTON POST OCT 14

Flowers From Moscow

Mrs. Roosevelt said the other day that "you cannot understand why the Russians act as they do, even when you project yourself into the position their nation occupies." Difficult as it is, however, the effort will be made in respect of the Soviet stand on Palestine. This is at one with the American stand on Saturday, namely, in favor of partition; and the position was stated, moreover, in such milk and honey language as to astound the other delegates. The Soviet went much beyond unequivocal support of partition. It praised the U. N.'s Commission on Palestine, and proposed that any modification of the boundary lines—as, presumably, in respect of Jaffa—be left to the same commission to work out. Particularly was there a welcome for the suggestion of an economic union between the Arab and Jewish states as an essential step in the direction of a binational state. When the statement had concluded the delegates privately sought to figure out the whys and wherefores of Soviet amiability.

Actually the Soviet position corresponded to the statement made by Mr. Gromyko last May on Soviet policy. The ideal solution from the Soviet's point of view, he said, was a "dual, democratic Arab-Jewish state." If that proved impossible to bring about, then the USSR would back a partition of Palestine between Jew and Arab. This was the solution recommended by a majority of the U. N. Commission. It had been imagined, in view of the growing anti-Americanism of Soviet policy since May, that the Soviet would adopt another line at this Assembly, if only out of sheer cussedness. But the fact remains that, as we said in comment on Mr. Gromyko's statement, the Russians in recent years have felt they had more in common with the Palestinian Jews than with the Arabs. This is natural enough. In the first place, it is obvious now that the Zionists are no longer what the old Bolshevists used to charge, viz, "the lackeys of British imperialists." Secondly, the advanced and progressive Jews of Palestine hold out much more promise to the Soviet government than the backward Arabs controlled by the feudal cliques of kings and effendis. Moscow cannot forget the contribution that Jewish Palestine made to the war effort of the Allies. Palestine was an invaluable workshop, and the Kremlin has a profound respect for the kind of technician that manned it.

We would also hazard that the Soviet is watching with great satisfaction the liquidation of one after another outpost of the British Empire. It has always wanted in particular to extrude Britain from the Middle East. Palestine occupies a position of singular strategic importance. It is the virtual link between the three continents, lying on the Mediterranean within close touch of the Suez Canal, and it serves as the outlet and inlet for the trade of that area, chiefly Arabia's oil. In all these circumstances, therefore, it seemed to us last May that "there is nothing surprising in the Russian gambit."

Nobody could be more surprised over the denouement, we fancy, than the neutral-minded contingent in our State Department. The argument for neutrality was a fear, sedulously fostered, that by injuring the susceptibilities of the Arabs we might thrust them into the arms of Russia. This cautionary advice was echoed in Whitehall. It influenced Mr. Bevin, but was rejected, after long and tortuous cogitation by Secretary Marshall. The case, of course, wasn't very plausible. A united Arab world is more of an invention than a fact, even about Palestine, with the Lebanese stranger to the Saudi Arabians than to New Yorkers. Besides, the territories are run by pashas, landlords and feudalists who would shudder at the thought of leaning on Moscow. Lending themselves to the farce of Arab unity were the correspondents who reported last weekend the "ring of steel" with which the outside Arabs had vested Palestine. Several authorities in a nearby column show the lack of reality back of this fanciful piece of intimidation. There will be no jehad, or holy war, over Palestine, and, if the united stand of the great powers is maintained, there is no reason to doubt the world's acceptance and enforcement (if necessary) of partition in Palestine. The Soviet speech appeared to bring this vexed issue sensibly nearer to solution.

53

17

NEW YORK TIMES OCT 15 1947

RUSSIA'S PALESTINE POLICY

Monday, Oct. 13, 1947, may be remembered as one of those rare days on which the United States and Russia agreed about something—namely, the principle of the partition of Palestine. Russia's acceptance of the partition plan indicated no change in her obstructionist policy in other fields, as Mr. Vishinsky took pains to remind us in his bitter attack on our "Little Assembly" proposals yesterday. But any area of agreement is a gain. If Russia honestly means to go along with us and other nations in making an effort to bring peace and security to Palestine that is clear gain.

The Russian acceptance, as stated by Semyon K. Tsarapkin, contained some phrases with which we have grown familiar in the course of the Balkan discussions, and some reservations. Mr. Tsarapkin emphasized "the right of self-determination"; he referred acidly to the failure of Western Europe "to give the necessary aid to the Jewish people in the defense of its rights and of its existence against the oppression on the part of the Hitlerites and their allies"; he sympathized with the Zionists' desire to "create their own state." He had doubts, as the United States has, about the proposed frontiers, and he realized, as we do, that a critical problem is involved in the "decision on the authority that will govern during the transition period."

We are forced to be skeptical about Russia's understanding of "self-determination," in the light of her interpretation of this principle in the Baltic and Balkan countries. In this case, however, so far as we can make out, her interpretation seems to be similar to our own Government's views. The only overt difference of opinion may be that while the United States urged "a solution at this session," Russia merely suggested that "further work" be done "on the concrete plan" by the Special Committee. But with the Assembly likely to be in session for weeks to come, there is time for such study before adjournment. This is apparently what was contemplated in the joint Swedish-American proposal to appoint a special subcommittee.

The delimitation of practicable and just frontiers will not be easy. Even with the city of Jaffa omitted, there would be more than 300,000 Arabs in the Jewish state as proposed by the Committee. Some division lines are fairer than others, but in any outcome there will be a problem of the two groups getting on together, not only harmoniously but productively. This is a long-range problem of statesmanlike planning. It is a short-range problem —as we must hope—of keeping order. The violent fanatics of both sides must be kept down. The order-loving majorities, which certainly exist, must be encouraged. This is the hard core of the task of "implementing" any decision that is made.

Delegate Herschel V. Johnson, speaking for the United States last Saturday, made it plain, more by what he did not say than by what he said, that this country would not send troops to police Palestine. What he proposed was "a special constabulary or police force recruited on a volunteer basis by the United Nations." Mr. Tsarapkin was not so explicit, but possibly he meant the same thing when he spoke of "preserving peace in Palestine." But some difficult questions have to be answered. When will the British terminate their mandate and withdraw? How will the proposed police force be recruited? Should there be quotas from many nations or should volunteers be sought in lands where the individual recruits are most likely to be neutral in their sympathies?

All such questions can be answered if there is sufficient patience, sufficient good-will and sufficient determination. The problem of Palestine, at bottom, is one of human relations. It is one of giving people of both major groups a chance to do their work and make their plans in peace. It is one of admitting those Jewish immigrants whose plight is most serious—150,000 in two years if the Committee report is followed. If within two years an independent Jewish state has been created in Palestine, the extent of immigration thereafter will presumably be that state's concern and will depend on the capacity of the country to provide space and productive employment.

Palestine ought to be removed from the zone of conflicting power politics. If this can be done there will be hope of a bright future for all its inhabitants, of whatever religion or race. This is the great task to which the Assembly is now summoned.

51

278

18

E

PALESTINE

1947

E10027

28 OCT

Registry Number E10027/951/31

FROM Saudi Arabian Legation

No.

Dated

Received in Registry 28 Oct

Speech at General Assembly by AMIR FAISAL

Transmits text of speech given on Oct 16 by HRH the AMIR FAISAL, head of Saudi Arabian Delegation, at General Assembly.

Last Paper

10026

References

(Print)

(How disposed of)

(Minutes.)

I hope the passages on page 3 had some effect on the Americans. It is not a constructive speech however.

N.A. Dept.

(J.E. CABLE) 28/10

JBart. 28

(Action completed) 30/10

(Index) 31/8/48

Next Paper

E10029

Enter K

19

K

Eastern Dept

TD

24/10

With Compliments

E 10027

Saudi Arabian Legation,

30, Belgrave Square,

London, S.W.1.

28 OCT

THE FOLLOWING IS A SPEECH GIVEN ON OCTOBER 16th BY H.R.H. THE AMIR FAISAL, HEAD OF THE SAUDI ARABIAN DELEGATION, AT THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN NEW YORK.

20

Mr. President, Fellow Delegates,

I do not intend to indulge in a long speech about the ancient history of the Jews, as to whether they are Palestinians or foreigners who migrated to Palestine and stayed there for a certain period of time.

Nor is it my intention to speak at length about the promises that were made to the Arabs by the allies during and after the first World War. Nor do I wish to speak about the invalidity of the Balfour Declaration and how it afforded a false foundation for the Jews to build upon.

A number of my distinguished Colleagues have already spoken at length on these points.

Is the Palestine Problem so complicated that it could not be solved?

I have heard many ask this question and for no other reason than that so many committees have been formed for the purpose of finding a just solution. But I have this to say:

The Palestine Question is complicated because it was deliberately rendered so and because it was not intended to be solved. Those who have been responsible for its complication are primarily Great Britain and the United States and secondly the defunct League of Nations.

But it is Britain who, in the first place, was responsible because she encouraged Jewish immigration and because she did not respect the promises she pledged to the Arabs.

Yes, Britain is primarily responsible because she did not take drastic measures to stop the Zionist aggressors. In consequence, this British leniency made the Zionists so covetous that they began to claim a country not their own, as if that country were vacant of its rightful owners.

It is this same country which is to-day suffering at the hands of the terrorists, who have been subjecting our land to destruction and threatening the lives of our sons.

Some say;

"Partition Palestine and the problem would be solved".

This is an arbitrary judgement and a tyrannical statement to make. What would be your position, Honourable Delegates, if a minority inside your own country for some reason claimed a share of it, would you accept that? No doubt you would refuse and oppose such a claim. This is precisely what the Arabs are doing to-day.

I have no doubt but that your conscience will not allow such an injustice and I feel confident that you do not lack the courage to stop the aggressor.

Suppose a group of spaniards were to claim a part of Uruguay or Guatemala on grounds that the Spanish were the explorers and former rulers, would their claim be accepted? I do not believe that only Uruguay and Guatemala would stand in the face of such a pretentious claim but all the Governments of Sout and North America would repulse such aggression.

This is precisely what the Arabs of Palestine would do. Yes, this is what they would do, supported by their Arab brethren as well as by the defenders of Freedom and Justice the world over.

Gentlemen, I am sure it is unnecessary to remind you that if you agree to partition Palestine, you will open a door that will create a grave precedent, a precedent so serious that even now, it is far beyond our comprehension. This example will be set for the warious religions, minorities, political groups etc. who also will eventually demand a homeland just as the Zionists are doing to-day.

There is one thing we could neither comprehend nor justify, it is the intervention of the United States Government in the Palestine question and her support for the Zionists.

Similarly incomprehensible is the silence the United States Government has maintained regarding Zionist terrorism.....

and Zionist tyranny.

If the motive of the United States Government is humanitarian, a noble motive to which we subscribed, why doesn't she open the gates of her country to those destitute refugees. For after all, the United States is richer and more spacious than Palestine, which is already congested with these foreign aggressors.

Enormous funds are being collected under the very nose of the United States Government; tax-free funds which are being spent for aggression and disturbing peace and security in that region. More astonishing is the fact that Members of Congress themselves, have repeatedly urged uncontrolled and unconditional immigration into Palestine, as if that country had no owners and as if her rightful inhabitants had no say in the matter. More astonishing still were identical statements made by the highest authorities of the United States Government.

What would be the position of the United States Government and the American people at large, were the Parliament of some foreign country to pass a law which urges opening the gates of immigration to Jewish and Non-Jewish refugees, simply because the United States is vast and can absorb millions of people. Yes, a tremendously vast country in which there are single states whose area exceed half the area of all the Arab territories. Wouldn't the American people Government and the American people rise and decry such interference? This is precisely thesame position the Arabs are taking now.

One of our proverbs reads: IF YOU WANT TO BE GENEROUS THEN BE GENEROUS OUT OF WHAT YOU POSSES.

What about the Atlantic Charter? What about the United Nations Charter? The ink with which the articles were written is not dry, yet we find the Delegate of the United States endeavouring to stir the whole world regarding the Greek question. What does he think of Palestine, has he

forgotten the principles of the Charter? Or is he merely denying those principles? I am astonished by a people who prohibit immigration to their own land but impose it on somebody else's country.

Mr. President and Honourable Delegates, I have not found anything new in the speech of the distinguished United States Delegate. The stand taken by his Government to-day has not changed from what it was in the past. He has sided with the aggressors, thereby encroaching on the most fundamental rights of Man.

The Distinguished Delegate of the United States wanted to place us under obligation by stating that his Government had, during the first World War, shed the blood of her sons and spent huge sums for the liberation of oppressed peoples. We thank her for her efforts but, at the same time, we would like to remind the United States Government that the Jews did not shed their blood to liberate the Arab lands. It was the Arabs participating with the Allies who liberated their own countries, likewise, did the Poles and the Czhecks, in the first World War. Why then didn't you impose upon them what you wish to impose on Palestine to-day? No doubt they would act similarly under the same condition.

Gentlemen, we do not harbour any enmity towards the Jews. The Jews have lived for long centuries among the Arabs and were as well treated as the Arabs treated their own sons. We regret what the Jews met with at the hands of Hitler. However, their affliction should not be used as a weapon for encroaching on the rights of others. The people of Europe live in an atmosphere of misery and distress as a result of what Hitler and his gang have inflicted upon the whole world. If these refugees could find shelter in any place other than Europe they would go to it but the gates of the world are closed in their faces.

Mr. President and Honourable Delegates, the world looks up to you and your distinguished organisation and asks is it actually an instrument of Peace and Justice, or is it an

instrument in the hand of some nations to use for their own ends. We still believe that Justice has its champions and that the human conscience is still paramount.

Gentlemen, try and put yourselves in our place to-day; would you be slack in preserving your country; would you allow it to become a prey to the invader? We have no doubt but under the same circumstances you would re-act exactly ~~the same way~~ as we are reacting. Why are we accused of indulging in threats or of wanting to disturb world peace? Was not this the same argument used by Japan when she ~~i~~ tresspassed on China; by Mussolini when he attached Ethiopis; and by Hitler when he invaded Europe.

Thank God, Honourable Delegates; that none among you could be deceived by similar erroneous arguments to which the Zionists have resorted.

We absolutely reject Partition and refuse to accept it as a basis for discussion, becaude Partition does not lead to peace. On the contrary, Partition will afford nothing but constant conflict and continous disturbances which might eventually spread beyond the borders of Palestine. This, Gentlemen, is one thing we do not desire to see happen. Independence is a natural right of peoples.

We welcome the recent statement made by the British Government regarding her preparedness to terminate the Mandate and declare Palestine independent. We also welcome her readiness to withdraw her troops from that country. It is, therefore, up to Britain now, to set a date for such promises. On the other hand, the Arab Governments are well equipped to help their brethren in Palestine to maintain peace and order during the transitory period. As to those elements of the population who would like to co-operate with us, they may rest assured that they would have the same rights and responsibilities as ourselves. But those of them who interfere with the maintenance of Law and Order would be treated in the same manner as any country treats those factions who trample on her Laws and disturb her peace.

Cont/

I wish to remind you, Honourable Delegates, what ~~had~~ befallen the League of Nations, which died because of her silence over the aggressors; she was silent over Japan and China - over Italy and Ethiopia - over Germany, Czechoslovakia and Austria. The League of Nations is dead, and the aggressors have been beaten.

An Arabic Proverb says: THE WISE ARE THOSE WHO DO NOT ALLOW THEMSELVES TO BE VENOMOUSLY BITTEN TWICE THROUGH A REPTILES HOLE.

There is only one solution, a just solution, but it requires courage and firmness. This solution is, to declare Palestine independent and to set up a democratic Government like those which exist in other countries of the world.

Palestine is not the only country which is inhabited by a minority. Why should this minority be given the chance to impose its will on the future of the majority, and hamper the independence of a nation, and the freedom of a people whose only desire is to develop their country and work for the good of humanity.

P.W. E 10027/951/31

26

4 NOV

With Compliments
of the
Saudi Arabian Chargé d'Affaires

30, Belgrave Square,
London, S.W.1

THE FOLLOWING IS A SPEECH GIVEN ON OCTOBER 16th BY H. R. H THE AMIR FAISAL, HEAD OF THE SAUDI ARABIAN DELEGATION, AT THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN NEW YORK.

Mr. President, Fellow Delegates,

I do not intend to indulge in a long speech about the ancient history of the Jews, as to whether they are Palestinians or foreigners who migrated to Palestine and stayed there for a certain period of time.

Nor is it my intention to speak at length about the promises that were made to the Arabs by the Allies during and after the first World War. Nor do I wish to speak about the invalidity of the Balfour Declaration and how it afforded a false foundation for the Jews to build upon.

A number of my distinguished Colleagues have already spoken at length on these points.

Is the Palestine problem so complicated that it could not be solved?

I have heard many ask this question and for no other reason than that so many committees have been formed for the purpose of finding a just solution. But I have this to say: The Palestine question is complicated because it was deliberately rendered so and because it was not intended to be solved. Those who have been responsible for its complication are primarily Great Britain and the United States and secondly the defunct League of Nations.

But it is Britain who, in the first place was responsible because she encouraged Jewish immigration and because she did not respect the promises she pledged to the Arabs.

Yes, Britain is primarily responsible because she did not take drastic measures to stop the Zionist aggressors. In consequence, this British leniency made the Zionists so covetous that they began to claim a country not their own, as if that country were vacant of its rightful owners.

It is this same country which is today suffering at the hands

of the terrorists who have been subjecting our land to destruction and threatening the lives of our sons.

Some say:

"Partition Palestine and the problem would be solved."

This is an arbitrary judgment and a tyrannical statement to make. What would be your position, Honourable Delegatees, if a minority inside your own country for some reason claimed a share of it, would you accept that? No doubt you would refuse and oppose such a claim. This is precisely what the Arabs are doing today.

I have no doubt but that your conscience will not allow such an injustice and I feel confident that you do not lack the courage to stop the aggressor.

Suppose a group of Spaniards were to claim a part of Uruguay or Guatemala on grounds that the Spanish were the explorers and former rulers, would their claim be accepted? I do not believe that only Uruguay and Guatemala would stand in the face of such a pretentious claim but all the Governments of South and North America would repulse such aggression.

This is precisely what the Arabs of Palestine would do. Yes, this is what they would do, supported by their Arab brethren as well as by the defenders of Freedom and Justice the world over.

Gentlemen, I am sure it is unnecessary to remind you that if you agree to partition Palestine you will open a door that will create a grave precedent, a precedent so serious that even now it is far beyond our comprehension. This example will be set for the various religions, minorities, political groups etc. who also will eventually demand a home-land just as the Zionists are doing today.

There is one thing we could neither comprehend nor justify, it is the intervention of the United States Government in the Palestine Question and her support for the Zionists.

Similarly, incomprehensible is the silence the United States

Government has maintained regarding Zionist terrorism and Zionist tyranny.

If the motive of the United States Government is humanitarian, a noble motive to which we subscribed, why doesn't she open the gates of her country to those destitute refugees, for after all, the United States is richer and more spacious than Palestine, which is already congested with these foreign aggressors.

Enormous funds are being collected under the very nose of the United States Government. Tax-free funds which are being spent for aggression and disturbing peace and security in that region. More astonishing is the fact that members of Congress themselves have repeatedly urged uncontrolled and unconditional immigration into Palestine as if that country had no owners and as if her rightful inhabitants had no say in the matter. More astonishing still were identical statements made by the highest authorities of the United States Government.

What would be the position of the United States Government and the American people at large, were the parliament of some foreign country to pass a law which urges opening the gates of immigration to Jewish and non-Jewish refugees, simply because the United States is vast and can absorb millions of people. Yes, a tremendously vast country in which there are single states whose area exceed half the area of all the Arab territories. Wouldn't the American Government and the American people rise and decry such interference? This is precisely the same position the Arabs are taking now.

One of our proverbs reads: IF YOU WANT TO BE GENEROUS THEN BE GENEROUS OUT OF WHAT YOU POSSESS.

What about the Atlantic Charter? What about the United Nations Charter? The ink with which the articles were written is not dry, yet we find the Delegate of the United States endeavouring to stir the whole world regarding the Greek question. What does

he think of Palestine? Has he forgotten the principles of the Charter? Or is he merely denying those principles? I am astonished by a people who prohibit immigration to their own land but impose it on somebody else's country.

Mr. President, and Honourable Delegates, I have not found anything new in the speech of the distinguished United States Delegate. The stand taken by his Government today has not changed from what it was in the past. He has sided with the aggressors thereby encroaching on the most fundamental Rights of Man.

The distinguished Delegate of the United States wanted to place us under obligation by stating that his Government had during the first World War shed the blood of her sons and spent huge sums for the liberation of oppressed peoples. We thank her for her efforts, but at the same time, we would like to remind the United States Government that the Jews did not shed their blood to liberate the Arab lands. It was the Arabs participating with the Allies who liberated their own countries. Likewise did the Poles and the Czechs in the first World War. Why then didn't you impose upon them what you wish to impose on Palestine today? No doubt they would act similarly under the same condition.

Gentlemen, we do not harbour any enmity towards the Jews. The Jews have lived for long centuries among the Arabs and were as well treated as the Arabs treated their own sons. We regret what the Jews met with at the hands of Hitler. However, their affliction should not be used as a weapon for encroaching on the rights of others. The people of Europe live in an atmosphere of misery and distress as a result of what Hitler and his gang have inflicted upon the whole world. If these refugees could find shelter in any place other than Europe they would go to it, but the gates of the world are closed in their faces.

Mr. President and Honourable Delegates, the world looks up to you and your distinguished organisation and asks, is it actually

an instrument for Peace and Justice or is it an instrument in the hands of some Nations to use for their own ends. We still believe that Justice has its champions and that the human conscience is still paramount.

Gentlemen, try and put yourselves in our place today; would you be slack in preserving your country· would you allow it to become a prey to the invader? We have no doubt but under the same circumstances you would react exactly as we are reacting. Why are we accused of indulging in threats or of wanting to disturb world peace? Was not this the same argument used by Japan when she trespassed on China, by Mussolini when he attacked Ethiopia, and by Hitler when he invaded Europe?

Thank God, Honourable Delegates, that none among you could be deceived by similar erroneous arguments to which the Zionists have resorted.

We absolutely reject partition and refuse to accept it as a basis for discussion because partition does not lead to peace. On the contrary, partition will afford nothing but constant conflict and continuous disturbances which might eventually spread beyond the borders of Palestine. This, gentlemen, is one thing we do not desire to see happen. Independence is a natural right of peoples.

We welcome the recent statement made by the British Government regarding her preparedness to terminate the Mandate and declare Palestine independent. We also welcome her readiness to withdraw her troops from that country. It is, therefore, up to Britain now to set a date for such promises. On the other hand, the Arab Governments are well equipped to help their brethren in Palestine to maintain peace and order during the transitory period. As to those elements of the population who would like to co-operate with us, they may rest assured that they would have the same rights and responsibilities as ourselves, but those of them who interfere with the maintenance of law and order would be treated

in the same manner as any country treats those factions who trample on her laws and disturb her peace.

I wish to remind you, Honourable Delegates, what befell the League of Nations, which died because of her silence over the aggressors. She was silent over Japan and China; over Italy and Ethiopia; over Germany, Czechoslovakia and Austria. The League of Nations is dead, and the aggressors have been beaten.

An Arabic proverb says: THE WISE ARE THOSE WHO DO NOT ALLOW THEMSELVES TO BE VENOMOUSLY BITTEN TWICE THROUGH A REPTILE'S HOLE.

There is only one solution; a just solution, but it requires courage and firmness. This solution is to declare Palestine independent and to set up a democratic Government like those which exist in other countries of the world.

Palestine is not the only country which is inhabited by a minority. Why should this minority be given the chance to impose its will on the future of the majority and hamper the independence of a nation and the freedom of a people whose only desire is to develop their country and work for the good of humanity.

JB/21/10/47.

339

E

E 10029

28 OCT

33

PALESTINE

Registry Number } E10029/957/31

TELEGRAM FROM

No. U.K. Del New York.

Dated

Received in Registry } 3088 27 Oct 28

Palestine Sub Committee - 1.
Refer New York tel 3048 (E9966/957/31)
Sub Committee - 1. Held morning and afternoon meetings 27 Oct. Morning session was public and was devoted exclusively to further discussions on procedure. Full text of statement.

Last Paper.

10027

(Minutes.)

Please see also E 10020

(J. E. CABLE)
28/10

4/11

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8, Matheson. CO.
Admty
M.I.3c.
M.O.4
A.M.
Oct 29
(on E9995)

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

31/8/98

Next Paper.

10030

Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P.

F 34

En Clair

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION.

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 3088. D. Untimed 27th October, 1947.
27th October, 1947. R. 5.40 a.m. 28th October, 1947.

Repeated to Washington (Saving),
Jerusalem (Immediate).

E 10029
28 OCT

IMMEDIATE.
GIANT.

My telegram No. 3048.

Palestine sub-committee 1 held morning and afternoon meetings to-day. The morning session, which was in public, was devoted exclusively to further discussions on procedure. The chairman opened by stating that contacts he had had with delegates had shown that they were not yet ready to enter into discussion of the problem of enforcement - he suggested therefore that the sub-committee should proceed to examine questions of boundaries and refugees. The United States representative, supporting this suggestion, stated that his delegation would, in due course, have concrete suggestions to make regarding implementation, but was not yet in a position to put these forward - he proposed the creation of two working groups sitting simultaneously for the study, meanwhile, of the other majority recommendations of the U.N.S.C.O.P. in closed meetings. A number of other delegates supported this proposal but indicated preference for one working group on the grounds of shortage of delegation manpower. The Soviet delegate, however, expressed the view that it was futile to discuss minor particulars of the partition plan until the three major questions of principle, of which notice had been given by Guatemala at the last meeting, had been settled. The United States delegate repeated that his delegation was not prepared to state its position on these important points to-day, and said that if other matters could not be discussed meantime, there was no alternative to adjournment until to-morrow or the day after. The Canadian representative stated the intention of his delegation to make certain specific proposals on the major issues, but that they also were not prepared to do so to-day. It was finally agreed to constitute the sub-committee as a single working group to sit informally and in private for the discussion of other particulars of the majority plan until such time as delegates were in a position to discuss the major problem of implementation.

2. During the course of the discussion, both the chairman and the delegate of Venezuela suggested that implementation was a problem which could be resolved only by agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union, and that until such agreement was reached little progress could be expected. The United States representative, while expressing sincere hope that there would be such agreement, pointed out that Palestine was neither a Russian nor an American problem but was a United Nations problem and that it was necessary to find a solution acceptable to the world and not only to the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

Foreign Office please pass Immediate to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 121.

333 [Copies sent to Colonial Office for transmission to Jerusalem]

140

1947

E

PALESTINE

E 10030

28 OCT

35

Registry Number } E10030/937/31

TELEGRAM FROM U.K. Del New York.

No. 3082.

Dated 27 Oct

Received in Registry } 28

Palestine Sub Committee 2.

Refer New York tel 3063 (E9997/937/31)
In the course of discussion of the Arab Plan on 27 Oct Jamali pointed out that the Iraqi Govt had direct interest in the flow of oil through Haifa, and indicated that if a situation arose which the Mandatory Administration was preparing to withdraw without handing over its authority, they would ask for Anglo-Iraqi consultation on the security of the oil outlet.

Last Paper.

10029

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

Copy to Mr. R. L. Mitchell (M. of F. and P.)

Mr Weatherstone 28/10
Mr. Griffin 29/10

(S. E. CARTER)
29/10

Ec. Relations Dept. 7/11/47.

Mr. P. 7.0 minute Mr Burrows. 29/10.

10 NOV. 10

q, Weatherson. C.O.
M.I.3.a
M.O.4
Admiralty
C.M.
(on E9997) Oct 29
q, R.L. Mitchell
M/F.P.
Nov. 5

(Action completed.) 10/11

(Index.) 31/8/48

Next Paper.

E10045

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

Cypher/OTP

WORLD ORGANISATION
DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No.3082
27th October, 1947.

D. 9.47 p.m. 27th October, 1947.
R. 4.15 a.m. 28th October, 1947.

Repeated to Jerusalem and Saving to Washington.
IMMEDIATE
GIANT

My telegram No.3063.

Palestine Committee.

E 10030
28 OCT.

In the course of discussion of the partition plan in the second sub-committee on 27th October, Jamali pointed out that the Iraqi Government had a direct interest in the flow of oil through Haifa and indicated that, if a situation arose in which the Mandatory administration was preparing to withdraw without handing over its authority to a successor, they would ask for Anglo-Iraqi conversations on the security of the oil outlet.

Foreign Office please pass Immediate to Jerusalem as my telegram No.120.

[Copies sent to Colonial Office for transmission to Jerusalem.]

QQQ

Minutes.

E10030/951/31

3 NOV 1947

37

Please see the Secretary of State's minute on the attached copy of New York telegram No. 3082. In the paper which the Secretary of State recently sent to the Prime Minister and which is now to be taken by the Defence Committee, one of the recommendations was that, if it was militarily desirable, there would be no objection to retaining a small force in Haifa, even after the withdrawal of forces from other parts of Palestine, to safeguard the oil installations there. The only further action required for the time being seems to be to include a reference to this Iraqi interest in the brief which will be prepared for the Secretary of State when the Defence Committee take the paper. I will also mention at the Official Ctee which is now being set up to study withdrawal.

B.M.B. Burrows

29th October, 1947.

G.A. Warner

30/x.

D.G. Sargent Oct 30

Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

Eastern Dept.

38

Please see C/S's minute:
"We must face this and determine our action now. CB"

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

Cypher/OTP

WORLD ORGANISATION
DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No.3082
27th October, 1947.

D. 9.47 p.m. 27th October, 1947.
R. 4.15 a.m. 28th October, 1947.

Repeated to Jerusalem and Saving to Washington.

IMMEDIATE
GIANT

PO, K

My telegram No.3063.

Palestine Committee.

In the course of discussion of the Arab plan in the second sub-committee on 27th October, Jamali pointed out that the Iraqi Government had a direct interest in the flow of oil through Haifa and indicated that, if a situation arose in which the Mandatory administration was preparing to withdraw without handing over its authority to a successor, they would ask for Anglo-Iraqi conversations on the security of the oil outlet.

Foreign Office please pass Immediate to Jerusalem as my telegram No.120.

[Copies sent to Colonial Office for transmission to Jerusalem.]

QQQ

We must face this & determine our action now PO

341

1947

E

PALESTINE

E10045 | 39
28 OCT

Registry Number } E10045/951/31

TELEGRAM FROM

No. Sir M. Peterson
Moscow

Dated

Received in Registry } 2330
27 Oct
28 -

Jewish attitude to Palestine.
Refers to No. 10880 to Washington (E10008/46/91)
Primary object of Russian aims to be to drive Britain out and to prevent from establishing themselves strategically in the Eastern Mediterranean.
Further comment.

Last Paper.

10080.

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8, Mathieson P.O.
M-13a.
M.04
Adm
a pl.
Oct 30
(on E9976)

(Action completed.) | (Index.)
G Ellis 4/11 | 31/8/48

Next Paper.

E 10054

(*Minutes.*)

H.M. Ambassador's comments on our telegram No. 10880 to Washington are valuable and, where they modify the views expressed in that telegram, should, I think, be accepted as correct. The two main points which emerge are:-

(a) the Soviet Government are not likely to be pinning such definite hopes on the allegiance of a Communist Jewish State in Palestine as we suggested. Any such State is bound to be closely linked with the the United States, both financially and otherwise, and therefore would be a difficult field for Communist influence. The same applies to the use of illegal immigration by the U.S.S.R.

(b) Sir Maurice Peterson underlines the point we made in paragraph 3 of our telegram about the vagueness of the Soviet statement in certain respects. He attributes this to a genuine difficulty in formulating a consistent policy on this complicated problem and to a desire to maintain a certain freedom of manoeuvre.

J.G.S. Beith
(J.G.S. Beith)
30th October, 1947.

31/10/47.
Northern Department.

No further action seems to be required.

Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P.

As regards (d) in Mr Beckett's minute, there are at last signs of the U.S. Govt. becoming slightly tougher with the Jews e.g. their line later in regard to Sharrok's proposals for altering the frontiers of the Jewish State & the more helpful attitude of the U.S. autho. as regards holding up the immigration ship in an American port.

The U.S. Amb. has recently indicated to the S/S that there is a certain change of outlook & that the administration are somewhat less preoccupied over the Jewish vote.

CAB
1/XI.

JB NN.3

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

41

E

Cypher/OTP

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

E 10045

FROM MOSCOW TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir M. Peterson
No. 2330
27th October, 1947

D. 9.05 a.m. 28th October, 1947
R.11.09 a.m. 28th October, 1947

Repeated to Washington and United Kingdom Delegation New York.

IMPORTANT
SECRET
LIGHT

E 10045/[illegible]

Your telegram No. 10880 to Washington.

Soviet attitude to Palestine.

Primary object of the Russians is in my view to debar us and the Americans from establishing ourselves strategically in the eastern Mediterranean.

2. Best method of achieving this no doubt seems to them to lie in encouraging partition since either party is thereafter likely to resent and oppose the establishment of bases in the territory of the other.

3. Soviet Government no doubt also have in mind possibilities offered by continued unrest in Palestine as affecting whole Middle East area. From this point of view they might well have considered that an out-and-out Zionist solution would have been preferable were it not for the certainty that any Zionist state in Palestine will begin under American auspices. I doubt whether hope of introducing Communism through Jewish immigrants bulks very largely with the Soviet since they are well aware of the extent to which Zionism is connected with American big business and of the entire dependence upon America which a Jewish state extending over the whole or part of Palestine will be forced to assume for a long time to come.

4. Apart from these paramount considerations introduction of the "minority" note may well have the implications referred to in New York telegram No. 2937. Soviet statement reported in New York telegram No. 2929 with its repudiation of historical and legal arguments is in accordance with Communist doctrine. I do not feel that the Soviet have been any more successful than any other power in maintaining a consistent view of the Palestinian problem. Now that the need to take a definite stand has become more urgent their tendency is to hedge. The hint of the need for revised frontiers is intended to secure ground for manoeuvre up to the last moment.

Foreign Office please pass to Washington and United Kingdom Delegation New York as my telegrams Nos. 460 and 97 respectively.

[Repeated to Washington and United Kingdom Delegation New York]

888

242

1942

E

PALESTINE

E 10054
29 OCT 42

Registry Number E10054/957/31.

FROM Chancery

No. Washington

Dated 200/415/47

Received in Registry 22 Oct 29

Palestine situation, U.S. Press.

Refers Washington letter (E10055/957/31) re advertisement by American League for a free Palestine about British support for the Arabs, now encloses leading article from S.N. of Oct 20, concerning Mr Bevin's views on the Palestine question and on other matters.

Last Paper

10045

References

(Print)

(How disposed of)

8, Bod
NOV 12

(Minutes.)

Mr Bevin
News Dept

Mr Bevin
Oct. 29

Colony C.O.

Private Sec - CMCA 31/x
may take to CM.

N.R. 3 Nov
Mr Mayhew

Parman
30/x

Mr Williams
30.x

CMCA
2/XI

CRM
6/XI

(Action completed)

(Index)

Next Paper

10055

33533

E 43

BRITISH EMBASSY,

WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

22nd October 1947

Ref: 200/415/47

E 10052

29 OCT

RESTRICTED

Dear Department,

Please refer to our letter 200/414/47 of the 20th October enclosing an advertisement by the American League for a Free Palestine about British support for the Arabs over the Palestine question.

2. We enclose herein a leading article from P.M. of the 20th October concerning Mr. Crossman's views on the Palestine question and on other matters. It may also be of interest to note that, according to the Palcor News Agency, Mr. Crossman said again in New York on the 17th October at a press interview that Great Britain was pinning her hopes on the failure of the United Nations to agree on any solution of the Palestine problem. Mr. Crossman is reported to have said that disagreement would enable the British military to evacuate in accordance with Bevin's notions of safe-guarding imperial interests: to wit, a withdrawal in favour of the Arabs. Mr. Crossman is said to have pointed out that British troops could turn over regional governments to Arabs in areas now included in the UNSCOP plan for a Jewish State. The Jews would then have to fight for the borders awarded them, which would not only cause bloodshed, but put them technically in the role of aggressors.

3. We are sending copies of this letter to Jerusalem and to the U.K. Delegation at New York.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY

Eastern Department,
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1.

OPINION

44

An English Laborite Views the Two Worlds

Last week Richard Crossman, the tall young Labor Member of Parliament who had served on the Anglo-American Palestine Committee in 1946, visited New York. He came to address the Nation Associates' Dinner on Palestine and, as usual, he spoke brilliantly. On the platform with Crossman were two men whose opinions of him were characteristically varied—Bartley Crum referred to him as the "future Prime Minister of England," and Sumner Welles had spoken of him as the "most dangerous man in England."

I had known Crossman during the war, when we both served in Psychological Warfare waging political war against the Nazis, and so we renewed our acquaintance. We had several long and intensive talks.

Sharpest Critic Of Bevin's Policy

In the two and a half years since the Labor victory and his own election to Parliament, Crossman has become famous as the sharpest critic of Bevin's foreign policy and the leader of the *Keep Left* group. He has also, I think, grown in stature. An Oxford professor of philosophy who wrote *Plato Today* and *Socrates,* he used to delight in the sheer display of verbal pyrotechnics. Today, while he still has a zest for ideas and wit, he gives one a feeling of authority, of a man with a sense of social responsibility who knows where he is going. He is not yet 40 and is definitely a man to watch.

Palestine has been Crossman's first test of statesmanship. His visit to the Holy Land had gripped his imagination and has had a deep impact upon him. What he saw of Jewish pioneering achievement there has strengthened and inspired his own Socialist faith. Though a non-Jew, he felt at home there. Jewish Palestine, he said, was "one of the most romantic and adventurous stories in the world."

A Magnificent Fight

On this issue he has fought a magnificent fight against his government. Events have since vindicated his biting criticism of Bevin's disastrous policy. "All that Mr. Bevins has achieved," he said, "was to bring an invisible import into England—anti-Semitism. He has also succeeded in isolating our country spiritually. For on the subject of Palestine he has been at war with the whole world."

Ernest Bevin

Richard Crossman

I asked Crossman whether it was true that Palestine had turned Bevin into a violent anti-Semite. He would neither confirm nor deny it, but from other reliable sources I know that to be a fact. I have been told that the British Foreign Minister now talks about Jews more or less the way Hitler did.

Most Powerful Figure in Party

Bevin, Crossman said, is the most powerful single individual in the Labor Party and the Government. He is also, according to Crossman, a man of considerable gifts and ability. Unfortunately, he is without education or larger vision. He neither reads nor takes much advice, and has contempt for intellectuals. He is moved by passion and prejudice. At present he detests Russians, suspects Frenchmen, and resents Americans. "Mr. Bevin," Crossman said, "is the most insular of Englishmen," who distrusts all foreigners alike.

Bevin's xenophobia and severe intellectual limitations, according to Crossman, have had a disastrous effect on England's foreign policy. The Foreign Secretary has bungled almost every major problem. "It is a crowning mercy," said Crossman, "that Bevin did not have a hand in India. He would have messed it up as he did Palestine."

His small-visioned course has also been a blight on the hopes of progressive democracy in Western Europe. In Germany Britain's policy is in a state of near-paralysis; elsewhere in Europe it is without spark or imagination or courage. A sensible course, Crossman believes, would have been for Britain to combine with France to form a Western balance of power against both Moscow and Washington; instead, Bevin has thrown his whole weight on the side of America, which he also dislikes. This has contributed to a dangerous imbalance in Europe, to war hysteria in the United States, and to near-bankruptcy of Socialism in the West. The result will be either American-inspired Rightism or Communism totalitarianism. As a footnote, Crossman adds that Bevin has not only sold out Britain's independence to America, but sold it very cheap.

Opposes a Tie-up With Wall Street

Crossman has been accused of being anti-American, and some of his speeches in Parliament did sound that way. Actually he is only against Labor Britain's pursuing an exclusively pro-American policy. He is, rather, pro-European and thinks that Britain has no right to tie herself hand and foot to Wall Street. He would feel the same way if Bevin followed the lead of the Kremlin. In effect, he and his *Keep Left* group, which comprises some 50 able Socialists in Parliament, say to both Washington and Moscow: "A plague o' both your houses."

Where England's Salvation Lies

Crossman is convinced that for England the only salvation lies in a Western European union and in neutrality in case of war. More and more Englishmen, including scores in Parliament, are now coming around to this view. This explains Crossman's growing influence in Britain. What he has been doing in the last two years was to give eloquent voice to the uneasy conviction held by millions of Englishmen that their country has ceased to be a world power. "Why then," asks Crossman, "pretend to play the game of big-power politics? It is both too dangerous and too expensive."

He believes that Britain should largely disarm, declare herself neutral, and devote her energies and resources to building a Socialist democratic commonwealth. If Communist Russia and capitalist America want war, they ought not to get any aid or encourgement from Labor Britain. Crossman is certain that English working people share his basic views (his Parliamentary seat in Coventry, Britain's Detroit, is "absolutely safe") and that Britain is now on the right path. A lot of Englishmen seem to agree with him.

Two Main Conclusions

What does the talk with Crossman add up to? I think two main conclusions are justified. One is that, while Truman's anti-Russian course has the backing of Bevin, it is by no means supported by the English people; and that a change in personnel may produce an alteration in policy. The second is that, though progressive democracy may be in retreat in this country, it is heartening to know that it is vigorously active in Britain. Perhaps it will some day inspire us, too. Can you imagine 390 Laborites and Socialists in our House of Representatives?

— SAUL K. PADOVER

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

243

1947

E

E 10055

29 OCT

PALESTINE

Registry Number E10055/951/31

FROM Chancery

No. Washington

Dated 200/414/47.

Received in Registry 20, Oct 29 ~

Palestine situation, U.S. Press

Refers Washington letter 15/828/47 (E9861/951/31) Encloses advertisement by American League for a Free Palestine which appeared - P.M. on Oct 16.

Last Paper

10054

References

(Minutes.)

News Dept.

N A Dept.

Mr. Beckett Oct. 29

Copy F.O.

30/x

(Print)

(How disposed of)

8, 60.

Nov 11

(Action completed)

27/11

(Index)

31/8/48

Next Paper

10074

33538

E46

BRITISH EMBASSY,

WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

E 10055

29 OCT

Ref: 200/414/47

20th October 1947

Dear Department,

Please refer to our letter 15/328/47 of the 15th October on U.S. comments about Arab threats concerning Palestine.

2. We enclose an advertisement by the American League for a Free Palestine which appeared in P.M. on the 16th October. The remarks attributed th Mr. Crossman were made, according to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, during a speech at Palestine House in London on the 7th October.

3. This advertisement, although in itself of little importance in view of its authorship, represents a line which is being taken by a number of pro-Zionists and which is in part referred to in your telegram to Cairo No. 1891 of the 11th October. This will need watching and any ammunition with which to refute the accusations made will be welcome, in case they show signs of spreading as a result of the re-iteration of our decision to leave Palestine shortly in the absence of Arab-Jewish agreement.

We are sending copies of this letter to Jerusalem and to the U.K. Delegation at New York.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY

Eastern Department,
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1.

47

IT'S NO BLUFF—
IT'S A BRITISH PLOT!

Blood Will Flow Needlessly in Palestine Unless You Act Now.

INNOCENT blood may run in Palestine.

This statement is not a call to panic, but an appeal to reason. To dismiss as bluff the military movements and the bloody threats of the despotic Arab lords in the Middle East is suicidal. *What makes this serious is the fact that the British are behind it.*

The time has come to put a stop to the criminal conspiracy that is being plotted against the people of Palestine.

Britain, the instigator of that plot, is playing a dangerous game. The object is to create chaos in the Middle East—at whatever cost in human life. Under cover of that chaos, Britain will perpetrate her grab in Palestine through her jackals—the Arab feudal lords.

Britain announced that she will evacuate Palestine. But Richard Crossman, a leading Labor M. P., discloses that what this really means is that British troops will be withdrawn from those regions in Palestine which are predominantly Arab in population; they will remain for the time being only where there are Hebrews. Already they have withdrawn troops from the borders over which Arab brigands will come from the neighboring states.

This is tantamount to a green light for brigands all over the Middle East to invade Palestine and terrorize the civilian population, Arab and Hebrew alike. (Such bands in 1936-39, on orders from the Nazi Mufti, caused three times as many casualties among the Arab population in Palestine than among Hebrews.)

Simultaneously Britain is equipping and organizing the so-called regular armies of the Middle Eastern puppets. The British-trained Trans-Jordan Frontier Force, under a British commander, is stationed inside the borders of Cis-Jordan—a fifth column serving as a vanguard for aggression against the peaceful Arab and Hebrew population.

All this adds up to more than bluff. The Hebrews of Palestine will put up a heroic fight and ultimately they will win. But the cost in life and suffering will be heavy, because the Hebrew Resistance forces lack artillery, planes and armored vehicles. And this week the British announced that they will continue to supply the Arab states with modern armaments.

The United States has proclaimed itself an unquestioning ally of Britain. If the United States continues to endorse British policy—and failure to check Britain in this diabolical plot constitutes an endorsement—*the United States will be an accomplice in the Palestinian bloodshed.*

The United States shared in the creation of the United Nations; we, by virtue of our position in the world, must also take a major share of the responsibility for making the United Nations function as a preserver of peace.

Britain and the Arab states are affronting the standing of the United Nations and the foundations of justice. *As yet, no one has seen fit to protest these disastrous blows aimed at the structure of the United Nations.*

It is therefore the duty of every peace-loving American to use all the means in his power to prevent bloodshed in Palestine and the collapse of the only instrument left for the prevention of war.

British Won't Stop Arms

LONDON, Oct. 10 (AP).—A Foreign Office spokesman said today that Great Britain was continuing to fulfill her contracts to supply arms and military equipment to certain Arab countries, despite their decision to recommend military action in event of British withdrawal from Palestine.

From the N. Y. Times:

British paratroopers in the Galilee district recently were withdrawn and replaced by units of the Trans-Jordan frontier force, an all-Arab unit of British forces, mainly recruited in Palestine and adjoining countries.

This force of 3,000 is one of those feared by Zionists. The other is the Arab Legion, which is commanded and subsidized by the British but owes its allegiance to King Abdullah of Trans-Jordan. Units of the Arab Legion are serving in Palestine under British command.

A Plan of Action

To peace-loving Americans we commend a plan of action proposed by the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation. In brief, the plan calls for these points:

1. ***To bring to the attention of the U. N. Security Council for disciplinary action the threats of the Arab states to invade Palestine.***
2. ***To call upon the United Nations to establish a Border Commission in Palestine to prevent threats or acts of aggression by foreign powers. The pattern for this was established recently to protect the integrity of Greek territory.***
3. ***To demand that members of the United Nations (including the United States and most particularly, Britain) cease delivering arms and munitions to those states which have threatened aggressive action against Palestine.***
4. ***To recognize the Resistance Forces of Palestine as legal military forces protecting the integrity of their land; and to supply them with arms, munitions, and credits required to deal with any threats or acts of violence.***

STOP THE CRIME

This message must appear at once—in newspapers throughout America. All the people of America must do something about this, NOW. The Arabs are moving, backed by British gold, guile, and guns. Join with us in setting American public opinion in motion. Your contribution will make it possible to drive home this message, kindle public opinion, hold mass demonstrations, and change a potential tragedy into a victory. Send $250 or $25—send $1. Do it NOW. *Stop the crime that is about to be committed.*

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR A FREE PALESTINE, INC.

25 West 45th St., New York 19, N. Y.

HON. GUY M. GILLETTE, President

Executive Board

Co-Chairmen
Louis Bromfield
Ben Hecht
Will Rogers Jr.
Harry Louis Selden
Andrew L. Somers, M.C.
William B. Ziff

Vice-Chairmen
Stella Adler
Konrad Bercovici
Ruth Chatterton
Lester Cohen
Fowler Harper
Nathan G. Horwitt
Arthur Syzk

Vice-Presidents
Y. Ben-Ami
A. Hadani
Maurice Rosenblatt
Alex Wilf

Treasurer
Mrs. Louis Untermeyer

Secretary
Maurice Rifkin

ACT NOW: Stop Arming The Nazi Mufti!

American League for a Free Palestine, Inc. PM-D

25 West 45th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

I gladly subscribe the sum of $_____ to the Palestine Freedom Drive.

☐ Please send literature about your ACTION PROGRAM.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ZONE_____STATE_____

Please make checks payable to MRS. LOUIS UNTERMEYER, Treasurer
By a ruling of the Treasury Department contributions to this organization are tax exempt

48

OPINION

How Grateful Should Europe Be?

The job of getting the Marshall Plan across to the American people is going to be heartbreakingly difficult. As for getting it across to Congress, I shudder at what that will involve.

The biggest hurdle the Plan will encounter is the belief which so many Americans seem to hold that the people of western Europe are not grateful enough to us. Here is how the argument runs: they used our UNRRA supplies without gratitude; they are lazy and shiftless ingrates anyway, and the Marshall Plan dollars will only mean they will work still less; they are counting on our need for them—the need of markets to stave off depression—being as great as their need for us; their governments don't tell them that the food and dollars which are saving them come from America: so why should we stint ourselves and go short in order to help them?

Every one of these arguments seems silly and irrelevant, yet all of them are calculated to touch to the quick one of the sure-fire emotions of all human beings—the rancorous feeling that whatever we do is not appreciated.

Especially True of Way Americans Feel

This is especially true of the way Americans feel, because of the peculiar relation in which we stand to Europe. We were born out of Europe. Our institutions came out of Europe, and at some point in our families' history we did. But most Americans reject that fact, and would like to forget it. With a sense of our overwhelming superiority to the people and the places from which we have derived, we have throughout our history enacted what I have called elsewhere the ritual of "the slaying of the European father." Just as a child in growing up comes inevitably to the point where he has to reject his parents, so we have rejected Europe. The same child, grown to be a man may also find that he must help his parents, else they will die before their time and die in abject misery. He does help them, but at the same time he demands that they crawl on their bellies and lick the dust to show their gratitude. If they don't, he feels that he has somehow been taken for a sucker—and there is no crime in the cynical American calendar more humiliating than to be a sucker.

A Reminder of Psychological Fact

I was reminded of this psychological fact the other night when I listened to a speech on the Marshall Plan by Henry J. Taylor, on *America's Town Meeting of the Air*. "Our free food," says Taylor, "should be plastered with the American flag—every package. Every box, every bag, every bale should be stenciled in indelible ink: 'Free from the U. S. A.' . . . Hungry people getting our wonderful help could and should be reading their government's full page ads saying: 'Thank you, America, for this food. Thank you for saving it. Thank you for sending it. You are the friend of the people of this country—the helper—the *true* helper.'"

Insatiable Desire To Be Thanked

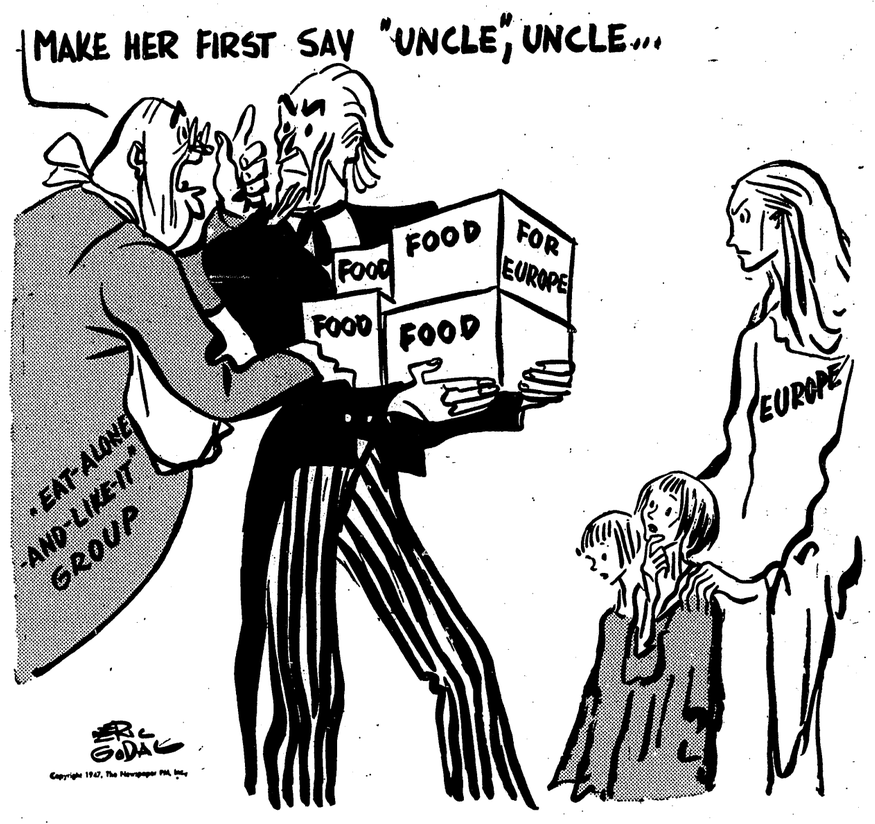
If this were not so adolescent, it would be pathetic—this insatiable desire to be thanked for what we ought to do not out of a desire for gratitude but out of common sense and out of the impulse of humanity. There is an almost obscene insistence, which so many Americans have, that the people of Europe must rattle their tin cups in the unmistakeable fashion of beggars, and then bow and scrape and cringe in gratitude to us who deign to give them a pittance out of our plenty.

And it *is* a plenty that we are enjoying. No people in history has ever lived so sumptuously amidst the poverty and desolation of the rest of the world. As Dean Acheson has pointed out, the whole of our proposed commitment under the Marshall Plan would mean something under two and a half per cent of our national income. It would mean one week's work out of the entire year for Americans. We need to get the picture into an economic perspective. And into a moral perspective as well. I am fed up with this talk of exacting "Thank You's" and of measuring gratitude. I am fed up with the bleak immorality of those who want us to stand in our high mightiness over the prostrate men and women and children of Europe, requiring them to say "Thank you, Uncle" before we lift them up a bit and stand them on their feet. Let's have less talk about what they owe in gratitude, and more honesty about what we owe to them and to ourselves as moral human beings.

Also Pays Us Political Dividends

If we act as moral beings we will also—as a sort of lagniappe—find that it pays us political dividends as well. Actually this is secondary, for we should be aiming chiefly at the economic reconstruction of Europe, rather than at its political allegiance to us. But if we want its political allegiance and alliance, the surest way *not* to get it is to plaster every package of food with the American flag, and exact a Thank You between every mouthful. The surest way to get it is to treat the people of Europe for what they are—people fully as good as ourselves, whom the miseries of war have hit far harder than we have been hit. Some of the more fatuous flag-waving Americans are in danger of forgetting that you can't extract gratitude as you would extract a tooth: that unless friendship is freely given, it means nothing and less than nothing; and that friendship—whether political or personal—is a mutual exchange between free men who are equals in their moral dignity if not in their economic strength.

—MAX LERNER



The Other Side of the Argument

From Detroit *Free Press*, Sept. 11, 1947:

"Senator Lodge, who has just returned from Europe, was 'shocked' to discover our friends over there maligning us. That's nothing new. After World War I they called us 'Uncle Shylock.' When were beggars ever grateful?"

From Chicago *Tribune*, Sept. 9, 1947:

". . . Western Europe's moral decay is appalling, but Mr. Marshall's loan will not make matters right. If the billions are forthcoming, they will only hasten the decline. The new gift loans, like the earlier ones, will encourage the lack of thrift, the reluctance to work, and the reliance upon government daydreams that are now undermining whole nations."

Inside Washington:

Marshall Plan Faces Hurdle

WASHINGTON

The first big hurdle for plans for aid to Europe will be presented next month by 102 members of Congress.

These are the members of the four committees which will meet, probably separately, to work out a program. They are the House Appropriations and Foreign Affairs and the Senate Appropriations and Foreign Relations committees.

Until and unless a pretty good majority of these 102 men agree in substantial detail, a special session of Congress is not apt to accomplish much. They will have to present the details to their colleagues and persuade them as to how to vote.

Republicans, of course, are in the majority. Without substantial GOP support the Administration's plans for stop-gap and later for the longer-range Marshall Plan aid to Europe are not going to get far.

The new element which has been injected into the field, however, are the members of the Appropriations committees. Formerly such matters were the sacred precinct of the Foreign committees. But today virtually every major step in foreign policy requires money, and only the Appropriations committees can supply this money.

Men on the Foreign Affairs and Foreign Relations Committees are mostly men interested in international matters. They, therefore, are more inclined to go along with American participation in affairs overseas. But the exact reverse is true with Appropriations Committee members, whose interests and views are pretty much limited to things domestic.

Hardest nut to crack will be the House Appropriations Committee, headed by Rep. John Taber (R., N. Y.), who failed to observe any hungry Europeans on his own trip overseas.

On a recent key issue—the proposal to cut present foreign relief from $350,000,000 to $200,000,000—the Republican members of Taber's committee voted 23 to 2 in favor of the cut.

If the Administration proposals can win approval of this committee, the rest of the fight will be simpler.

On the same issue, Republicans on the House Foreign Affairs Committee voted 10 to 4 *against* curtailing relief. On the Senate side, all seven members of the Foreign Relations Committee solidly opposed this cut. In the Senate Appropriations Committee, Republicans voted 10 to 2 against it.

Churchill says we could have "joint harmonious action of three quarters of mankind" without Russia. As in the past? — P. M.

244

E

49

E 10074

29 OCT

1947

PALESTINE

Registry Number E10074/951/31.

FROM Mr. O. Kirkbride

No. Amman

Dated 5/8/52/46

Received in Registry 22 Oct 29

Arab Military Intervention in Palestine.

Enclose translation of draft prepared by King Abdullah, of instructions to the Representative of Transjordan on the technical committee formed by the Arab League to consider military intervention in Palestine.

Last Paper

10055

References

(Minutes.)

Copy to C.O. (Mr. Mathieson)

King Abdullah is no fool where Greater Syria is not concerned.

(J.E. Cable)

29/10

(Print)

R.J.S. Beith

Oct. 30

(How disposed of)

Returned to file 17/2/46

Quite interesting.

P. Garran

6/XI

This has some bearing on the minute I submitted yesterday on Transjordan. King Abdullah's views are a welcome breath of common sense in the otherwise unreal discussions of the Arab League.

Yes. C.A.M. 7/XI B.A.B. Burrows 7.11

(Action completed)

(Index)

Next Paper

10076

32538

TELEG. ADDRESS: PRODROME AMMAN

SECRET

BRITISH LEGATION
AMMAN

REF. No. S/852/46.

E 10074

29 OCT

E 50

22nd October, 1947.

Earlier Soon

28/x

My dear Garran,

1. I enclose herewith the translation of an amusing and interesting document. It is a draft, prepared by King Abdullah, of instructions to the representative of Transjordan on the Technical Committee formed by the Arab League to consider military intervention in Palestine.

2. In this connection, you will note that Transjordan has no direct representative but is represented by the Iraqi member.

This arrangement is designed to make it easier for Transjordan to repudiate any unpalatable decision taken by the Committee.

3. The main purpose of the King is to bring home to the Committee the enormous practical difficulties which it faces. A secondary purpose is to relegate the Mufti and the Arab Higher Committee to the background and to nip in the bud the formation of armed bands under their command. (See (g) and (h).

4. The King's idea is that General Headquarters should be in Transjordan and under his control. He shows interest in the protection of Transjordan from a Jewish counter attack and in the provision of adequate funds. Fundamentally, he realises how little the Arab states can do in the military field and how unlikely it is that anything concrete will emerge from the Technical Committees planning.

5. The draft has not been despatched and is unlikely to go in its present form.

Yours ever,

[signature]

P. Garran, Esq.,
The Foreign Office,
LONDON, S.W. 1.

51

(e) What are the plans of the Technical Committee for guarding the shores of Palestine after a British withdrawal so as to prevent Jewish immigration flooding the country with arms, men and ammunition ?

(f) The Technical Committee should provide for the following :-

(i) Store depots, repair workshops. As far as possible armaments should be standardised.

(ii) Ration, ammunition and clothing dumps.

(iii) A recruiting and training scheme for men between 15 and 35 years of age for service with the colours and a scheme for using men between 35 and 55 years of age on internal security work in Palestine.

(g) Bands which would not come under the orders of General Headquarters should be prohibited as they would create incidents with Jews before General Headquarters have the situation under control.

(h) The Arab Higher Committee should have no role other than that of representing Palestine. It should be centred in Egypt so as to avoid friction between it and the military authorities.

(i) It is necessary to know what reserve funds will be needed to meet unforeseen military developments, and the contribution of each state thereto.

Consideration should also be given to the provision of supplies and ammunition in the event of the British, American or other governments cutting off supplies of foreign currencies.

(k) The Government of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan cannot assume responsibility for any action unless all the above factors have been dealt with. The country's geographical position in the front line makes such a condition necessary.

COPY OF TRANSLATION

52

The representative of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan at the Technical Committee, who is the Iraqi member, will raise the following points :-

(a) What force will each state member of the League be able to make available in the event of the British forces withdrawing from Palestine, without any decision having been taken by United Nations Organisation, and occurrences happening in Palestine requiring action to be taken to maintain order and to protect Arab lives ?

(b) What military assistance will be given to the Arab Legion by the states members of the League to enable it to maintain order and to repel attacks in the following eventualities,

(i) British evacuation of Palestine and the breakdown of the administrative machinery;

(ii) the provision of international forces by United Nations Organisation to replace the British;

(iii) a decision by United Nations Organisation giving the Jews those parts of Palestine where there are Jewish majorities, both in number and in land holdings, and leaving the Arab areas to Arabs ?

(c) What Arab League forces will be available to eject Jewish crowds if the latter seize Rutenbergs works in Transjordan and press further on into the hills ?

What Arab League forces will be available to deal with Jewish crowds if the latter occupy the potash property at the Dead Sea and advance on Madeba and on Kerak ?

(d) The Arab League should obtain full records of the armament and ammunition held by its members and should estimate the troops which each state could provide for the protection of Palestine and Transjordan.

(e)/...2

E

PALESTINE

E 10076

29 OCT

1947

Registry Number } E10076/951/31.

TELEGRAM FROM U.K. Del New York.

No. 3095

Dated

Received in Registry } 28 Oct 29

Palestine, Sub Committee 1.
Refers New York tel 3088 (E10029/951/31).
The afternoon meeting, sitting informally as a working group was devoted to an examination of boundaries. Full text.

Last Paper.

10074

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8, Weatherson. 80.
A.M.
Odaky
MRA
MO4
Oct

(Minutes.)

this does not indicate a reasonable frame of mind amongst the Jewish politicians. Mr Shertok's claim goes far beyond the Majority plan. Western Galilee represents a sizable block of the northernmost Arab sector presumably running from Acre across to the boundary of the Jewish sector and southwards (see Map in E8726).

Dev. Benis
Oct. 30

The last sentence of para. 6 suggests that even Dr Shertok himself may feel that he is opening

/his

(Action completed.) GEM 3/11

(Index.) 3/11/48

Next Paper.

E 10088

his mouth too wide.

These proceedings in Sub-Committee I are clearly calculated to ~~make [illegible]~~ delay progress towards a settlement.

R. Hanson
30/x

55

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient ~~and not passed on~~].

Cypher/OTP WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION.

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 3093 D. 11.30 a.m. 28th October 1947
R. 6.30 p.m. 28th October 1947.

28th October 1947
Repeated to Jerusalem
Washington Saving.

IMMEDIATE.
GIANT.

My telegram No. 3088.

The afternoon meeting of Palestine Sub-Committee I sitting informally as a working group was devoted to an examination of boundaries.

2. At the suggestion of Canada the Jewish Agency was invited to put forward their proposals for modifications. The Agency was represented by Shertok who stated that he was ready to express views on the understanding that if the Jewish State did not come into being in the form which he would propose the Agency reserved the right to go back to their original larger territorial claims and should not be held to be committed to any proposals which might now be made by him. In putting forward the views of the Agency he would be making certain territorial claims but he would also by implication appear to be renouncing other parts of Palestine; it should be clearly understood that such renouncements were subject only to acceptance in full of their territorial claims elsewhere. The chairman accepted this condition.

3. Shertok then proceeded to put forward a claim to the whole of Western Galilee; after giving an account of the historical associations of the Jews with this part of Palestine he based his claim on four counts:-

(a) It was essential for "the physical and mental well-being" of the Jews that they should have a mountainous area in their State.

(b) Half the area was uncultivated by the Arabs and afforded great opportunities for Jewish development; much of it was derelict and eroded.

/(c).....

(c) The execution of the Hays-Savage irrigation plan was partially dependent on a reservoir sited within the area.

(d) Its possession by the Arabs threatened the security of the Jewish State particularly on account of its frontier with the Lebanon.

Shertok also put forward a claim on security grounds alone to a part of Gilboa lying within the village lands of El Mazar, Faqqua and Jalbun.

4. After Shertok's proposals had been supported at some length by Fabregat (Uruguay), the Delegates of Venezuela and Czechoslovakia suggested that arguments should be heard on the other side. A proposal then put forward by the United States that the Arab Higher Committee should be invited to comment on the boundaries proposed, on the understanding that in doing so they would not be regarded as accepting the principle of partition was adopted; a message was received later in the afternoon that the Arab Higher Committee had declined this invitation.

5. Sandstrom and Mohn were then invited to explain to the Sub-Committee the reasons of UNSCOP for including Western Galilee in the Arab State; this they did indicating the population figures and the need for areas for Arab development as well as Jewish and mentioning that the UNSCOP had decided to ignore military considerations when determining boundaries since it was impossible in so small a country to draw any which would adequately satisfy all strategic desiderata.

6. In reply Shertok urged the Sub-Committee to regard the territorial needs of the Jewish State as a counterpart to the rapid numerical growth destined for it and not in relation to the present population ratios. He argued that the Arabs of Galilee would be materially better off in a Jewish State and that the viability of the Arab State would not be reduced by the loss of all Galilee. He explained that it was not intended to claim the town of Nazareth (which should be a Christian Arab enclave) and that endeavouring to be realistic the Agency was ready to give up Jaffa; if Western Galilee less Nazareth was received in exchange for Jaffa the additional number of Arabs included in the Jewish State would be small; he supported this argument with population figures more favourable to it than the official ones. Finally he indicated that if the whole of

/Western....

Western Galilee could not be added to the Jewish State it was essential that at least the northern frontier with its nine Jewish settlements and the Jebel Jarmuk and the Sahel El Battouf should be included; these areas he said would effect a transfer to the Jewish State of only 29,000 Arabs and 4,000 Jews.

7. The United Kingdom representative was not asked for comment on Shertok's claims nor did he volunteer it.

8. Discussions on boundaries continue today.

Foreign Office please pass Immediate to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 122.

[Copies sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem].

v v v

346

1947

E

PALESTINE

E 10088 58

29 OCT

Registry Number } E 10088/957/31

TELEGRAM FROM

No. U.K. Del New York

Dated 31 Oct

Received in Registry } 28, Oct 29

Palestine Sub Committee

In discussion of recommendations of UNSCOP in Sub Committee Australia suggested that para 3 of declaration regarding Holy places, religious buildings and sites in Chapter IV should be amended. Gives list of proposed amendments.

Last Paper.

10076

References.

(Minutes.)

J.A. 1/10

U.N. (Pol.) Dept.

(J. E. CABLE) 29/10

JB Oct. 29

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8, Matheson C.O.
M.I.3 a.
M.O.4
Admiralty (on E9976)
A.M. Oct. 30
S/C. Stapleton Oct 30

(Action completed.) 5/11/63

(Index.) 31/8/48

Next Paper.

E10091

Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P.

E 59

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on.]

Cypher/OTP

DIPLOMATIC (SECRET)

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 3103 D. 9.34 p.m. 28th October, 1947.

28th October, 1947. R. 3.50 a.m. 29th October, 1947.

Repeated to : Jerusalem - Immediate
Washington - Saving

E 10088

29 OCT

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

Following for High Commissioner Palestine from Martin.

In discussion of recommendations of Unscop in Sub - Committee today I suggested that paragraph 5 of declaration regarding holy places, religious buildings and sites in Chapter VI should be amended as follows:

(1) in third sentence substitute "may" for "shall";

(2) last sentence to read "The Government may carry it out itself either at its own expense or at the expense of the community or communities concerned;".

2. I explained that it would be dangerous to provide that the Government shall in all cases distribute cost among different communities where the holy place is sacred to more than one, as this would involve the delicate question of the extent of the interests of each and might lead to establishment of new interests.

3. Czechoslovak representative remarked that report as printed exactly described present situation in this respect as described to Unscop by Palestine Government and therefore preferred that amendment should not (repeat not) be accepted. Macgillivray understands that Czechoslovak representative had in mind paragraph 4 of High Commissioner's reply to question 6 of questionnaire of March, 1944, which he seems to have misinterpreted.

4. It seemed to be general view of Sub-Committee that recommendation should exactly correspond to present practice and I undertook to telegraph to confirm from you that for reason referred to in paragraph 2 above Palestine Government do in fact accept expense of repairs where holy place is sacred to more than one community and extent of interest of each is in dispute.

5.

60

5. Please telegraph your observations as soon as possible. It would be helpful if brief description could be added of any recent relevant instance.

Foreign Office please pass Immediate High Commissioner Jerusalem as my telegram No. 124.

[Copies sent to Colonial Office, Telegraph Branch, for repetition to Jerusalem.]

MM

24)

E

PALESTINE

E 10091
61
29 OCT

Registry Number } E10091/951/31.

TELEGRAM FROM U.K. Del New York.

No. 3102

Dated

Received in Registry } Oct 28 - 29

Palestine Sub Committee 2.
Refer New York tel 3082 (E10030/951/31)
Egypt has refused to modify composition of sub committee 2. In accordance with his statement reported in tel 3044, Fergalos has accordingly resigned from committee and has been succeeded as chairman by Zafrullah Khan.

Last Paper.

10088

References.

(Minutes.)

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8, Mathieson. C.O.
M-1.39.
MQ.4
Admty
O.M.
Oct 30
(on E10097/49/31)

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

E10093

(TELEGRAM)
29/10

Mr Beeley took the right line at the end of para. 2; the last sentence contains the crux of the matter.

Fares Bey made a comment (para. 3) typical of himself and of the use Syria made of Hungr. in the Levant States case. This kind of Arab quite shamelessly hopes that we will pick his chestnuts out of the fire.

H. S. Beith
Ovr.

R. Garran
30/X

30.X

Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P.

62

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

Cypher/OTP

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

No. 3102. D: 10.12.p.m. October 28th, 1947.
October 28th, 1947. R: 3.00.a.m. October 29th, 1947.

Repeated Jerusalem and Washington Saving.

E 10091

IMMEDIATE.

----oOo----

GIANT.

29 OCT

My telegram 3082: Palestine Committee.

Evatt has refused to modify composition of sub committee

2. In accordance with his statement reported in my telegram 3044 Gonzalez has accordingly resigned from committee. He has been succeeded as chairman by Zafrullah Khan and Evatt is being asked whether he wishes to fill vacancy created by withdrawal of Colombian.

2. At meeting of this sub committee held in closed session on 28th October a number of questions were put to United Kingdom observer. Asked what His Majesty's Government would consider to be a just solution of Palestine question and whether they were not prepared to make any recommendations whatsoever he pointed out that they had in the past made various recommendations which had not commended themselves to parties directly concerned. Function of making recommendations should be closely associated with responsibility for carrying them into effect and in view of Colonial Secretary's statement it was therefore appropriate that proposals for future government of Palestine should come from Assembly and not from mandatory Power. Asked whether His Majesty's Government would accept a proposal that they should stay in Palestine until an agreement was reached between Arabs and Jews the United Kingdom observer said that if there was no United Nations settlement the mandatory would of course do everything within its power to facilitate such an agreement during the remainder of its period of administration. This period however would be short and would not be open to extension once the date for departure was announced. There was no reason why the Arabs and Jews should not begin to negotiate immediately.

3. Jamali had added to the draft of the Arab constitutional proposal a section on the lines of paragraph 2 of my telegram 3063 to provide for the situation arising when in the absence of agreement upon the Arab plan the mandatory withdrew its forces and administration. Faris Bey questioned the necessity for this addition to the draft on the ground that the mandatory was legally obliged not to leave the country until an alternative administration was in existence. United Kingdom observer reminded the sub committee that the decision announced in the Colonial Secretary's two speeches was unaltered. His Majesty's Government would not implement alone or take the major part in implementing any solution involving the use of

force ..

force against either the Arab or the Jewish community. It followed that they would withdraw leaving a vacuum behind them rather than make any arrangement for a transfer of powers to either community against the wishes of the other.

4. United Kingdom observer was also asked whether in view of paragraph 4 of Article 22 of the Covenant of League of Nations sovereignty would not revert to the people of Palestine when British administration was withdrawn. He answered in terms previously approved by Beckett that he did not know where sovereignty over Palestine resided and that so far as he knew there was no generally accepted legal doctrine on this subject.

Foreign Office please Immediate to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 125.

[Copies sent to Colonial Office Telegraph Section for repetition to Jerusalem]

148

E

64

E 10093

29 OCT

1947

PALESTINE

Registry Number } E10093/95-1/31

TELEGRAM FROM Mr Crosswell

No. Tehran

Dated

Received in Registry } 34 Saving 29 Oct

Persian attitude re Palestine

Mr Khajeh Nouri was asked at his press conference whether relations between the U.S. and Persia were not affected by Persia's attitude over the Palestine question. He replied "Persia is a Moslem country and it is therefore natural that it should support the other Moslem States, but this attitude has no bearing on our friendly relations with the U.S. and is not of a nature to prejudice those relations."

Last Paper.

10091

References.

(Minutes.)

Mr. Pyman

(S.E. CABLE) 29/10

JB Oct. 29

Copy U.K. Del. New York.

29/10

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

9 U.K. Del. New York. no. 447 Oct. 31

(Action completed.) 21/10

(Index) 31/8/48

Next Paper.

E 10099

E 65

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on].
En Clair

CABINET DISTRIBUTION.

FROM TEHRAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Mr. Creswell
No. 34 Saving

Undated R 29th October 1947.
Repeated to Washington No. 12 Saving
Jerusalem No. 2 Saving
Bagdad No. 62 Saving
B.M.E.O. No. 71 Saving.

Persian Government's attitude to the Palestine question.

At his weekly meeting with press correspondents on October 20th, Mr. Khaje Nuri, Under Secretary for State in the Prime Minister's Office and Director-General of Propaganda was asked whether relations between the United States and Persia were not affected by Persia's attitude over the Palestine question.

2. Mr. Khaje Nuri stated in reply "Persia is a Moslem country and it is therefore natural that it should support the other Moslem Governments. But this attitude has no bearing on our firendly relations with the United States and is not of a nature to prejudice those relations".

3. At the end of his press conference, Mr. Khaje Nuri added that he had no official report on the question of funds sent to Zionists in Palestine by Persian Jews.

v v v

E 10093
29 OCT

249

1947

E

PALESTINE

66

E 10099

30 OCT

Registry Number } E10099/951/31.

FROM Colonial Office

No.

Dated

Received in Registry } 4/11/30. 20/11/30

Publication of UNSCOP Report.

Have now received from New York copy of Volume 2 of UNSCOP Report, & be that this material be sent to Stationery Office for printing.

Last Paper.

10093

References.

(Minutes.)

Eastern Dept. would be grateful for the comments of Mr. Hayward

Library

(J. E. CABLE) 1/11

(Print.)

Mr. Hayward is away.

Now see further letter from Colonial Office (written by Mr. Fitzgerald in Mr. Mathieson's absence on leave) which the Stationery Office have seen also. The letter is confirmation of telephone conversations between Mr. Fitzgerald and myself.

All material for volume two, including the maps, went to S.O. for printing on 28th October. We shall not know until mid-November, however, when Volume II will be ready for issue.

Norman Forter 4/xi (NORMAN. L. FORTER)

(How disposed of.)

I have told Mr. Mathieson this. Perhaps Library would let us know when Vol. II is actually ready?

Library 14

(J. E. CABLE) 13/11

(Action completed.)

J. E. C. 19/11

(Index.)

31/8/48

The Annexes, Appendices & maps were published on 13th November, 1947.

Norman Forter (NORMAN. L. FORTER) 15/xi

Next Paper.

10101

32003 F.O.P

I have told C.O. this as well.

18/11

67

E68

Colonial Office,
Church House,
Great Smith Street,
London, S.W. 1.

My Reference E 10099

Your Reference

September 30, 1947.

30 OCT

3000+25 NY

C.O. have telegraphed to J'lem, being almost certain that 3000 of Vol. II will be too many. Reply is expected tomorrow, when they will communicate.

NY 27/x

Dear Mr Hayward:

I have now received from New York a copy of Volume 2 of the report to the General Assembly by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine. This volume comprises Annexes 1-21, an Appendix and 4 maps. I shall be glad if you could arrange for this material to be sent to the Stationery Office for printing.

Volume 2 is likely to be published in New York towards the end of this week. We have asked the Government of Palestine how many copies they are likely to want of the Stationery Office print and we shall let you know as soon as their reply is received.

Yours sincerely,

(W.A.C. Mathieson)

A.G. HAYWARD, ESQ.

SA

69

Church House,
Great Smith St.,
London, S.W. 1.

October 28, 1947.

My Reference 75872/154/8

Your Reference

Mr McGrath. (Stationery Office) Seen
to see return, please. Noted.
W 29/x Hmio 31/10

Dear Mr Hayward:

I am writing to confirm by letter that the Palestine Government will require 3,000 copies of Volume II of U.N.S.C.O.P. which I understand you are now printing. The Crown Agents for the Colonies have been requested to purchase this number of copies from you and to arrange despatch to Palestine.

Yours sincerely

E.N. Fitzgerald

(E.N. Fitzgerald)

A.G. HAYWARD, ESQ.

350

1917

E

PALESTINE

70

E 10101

Registry Number: E10101/957/51.

FROM: Sir O. Mosley

No.: Amman.

Dated: 390/sec

Received in Registry: 23 Oct 30

Possibility of agreement between Jewish Agency and Arab League.

Mr Arthur Burrington during visit with King Abdullah to Jerusalem, who asked whether it would be possible to bring about any form of agreement regarding future of the country between Jewish Agency and Arab League. Sir O. Mosley replied in the negative.

Last Paper.

10099

References.

(Minutes.)

Copy to C.O. (Mr. Mathieson)

(J. E. CABLE)

30/10

Spurlos versenkt!

H. S. Beith

Oct. 30

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8, Mathieson CO. Nov. 5

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

10106

32003 F.O.P

SECRET

TELEG. ADDRESS: PRODROME AMMAN

REF. 390/Sec.

BRITISH LEGATION
AMMAN

23rd October, 1947.

E 10101

Sydney Garran 30 OCT

I met Cunningham yesterday (when I accompanied King Abdullah on a private visit to Jerusalem) and, in a discussion on the general situation regarding Palestine, he asked me whether in my opinion it would be possible to bring about any form of agreement regarding the future of the country between the Jewish Agency and the Arab League.

2. I replied that, in my view, at present no one of the political representatives of the states members of the Arab League could afford to support such a proposal even if he, personally, felt favourably inclined. His reputation would be blasted for ever by such a step.

I added that the same applies to any of the heads of the Arab states.

3. I also expressed the opinion that any attempt by His Majesty's Government to enginner such an agreement would fail to achieve the objective and would be either misunderstood or misrepresented, probably both, throughout the Arab World.

Yours ever.

P. Garran, Esq.,
The Foreign Office,
LONDON, S.W. 1.

371

1947

E

PALESTINE

E 10106 72

30 OCT

Registry Number } E10106/951/31

FROM U.K. Del

No. New York

Dated 30 6.

Received in Registry } 24 Oct 30 –

Documents for UNSCOP

Refer to letter E6907/951/31) transmit copy of letter from United Nations re reproduction of 5 maps for use of UNSCOP.

Last Paper.

10101

References.

(Minutes.)

Library 4/11

30/10

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

5/11

(Index.)

31/8/48

Next Paper.

10107

32003 F.O.P

No. 306(52/148/47) E 10106 E

HIS Majesty's Permanent Delegate to the U.N. New York presents his compliments to H.M. Secy of S. for F.A. and has the honour to transmit to him the undermentioned documents.

30 OCT 73

British Delegation to the
United Nations
Lake Success.

24th October, 1947

Reference to previous correspondence:

Foreign Office letter E.6907/951/31 of 16 Sept.

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
U.N. letter dated 17 Oct. 1947 to U.K. Del. to U.N.	Maps

3479A [31211] (8)

CABLE ADDRESS: UNATIONS NEW YORK TELEGRAMME: UNATIONS NEW YORK

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

LAKE SUCCESS, NEW YORK • FIELDSTONE 7-1100

74

REFERENCE:

306-2-9/DZ 17 October 1947

C O P Y.

Sir,

I am directed by the Secretary-General to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 108(52/116/47) of 23 September 1947, informing him that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom takes no exception to the reproduction of five maps from the "Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry regarding the Problems of European Jewry and Palestine", London 1946.

I have the honour to request you to be so good as to convey to His Majesty's Government the Secretary-General's appreciation of its cooperation in this matter.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

A. Pelt
Assistant Secretary-General
in charge of Conference & General Services

His Excellency,
The Right Honourable Sir Alexander Cadogan, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.,
United Kingdom Representative to the United Nations,
Permanent United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations,
c/o The United Kingdom Delegation to the General Assembly,
[illegible] Centre,
Room [illegible],
[illegible]
New York 1, New York.

352

1947

E

PALESTINE

E 10107

30 OCT

75

Registry Number } E10107/951/31

FROM Rt A. Clark Kerr

No. Amman

Dated

Received in Registry } 18 Oct 30

Palestine Frontier Transjordan Forces.

Refer Damascus tel 1459 (E9700/951/31) re taking over of Northern Palestine by Transjordan Forces, also approach refer to relief of Brit Embassy Civ by such Transjordan Frontier Force. Principle of acceptance rested by title of also F.F.

Last Paper.

10106

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

Mr. Walker

4/11

4/11

(Action completed.)

4/11

(Index.)

31/8/48

Next Paper.

10108

32003 F.O.P

Earlier

E 10107

30 OCT

BRITISH LEGATION,

AMMAN.

(S/920/47).

18th October, 1947.

Dear Garran

95 00/95

The references in Damascus telegram No.439 of the 11th October, 1947, and Beirut's telegram No.450 of 16th October, 1947, to the taking over of northern Galilee by Transjordan forces, appear to refer to the relief of 6th Airborne Division troops by units of the Transjordan Frontier Force which are now responsible for that part of the Palestine frontier bordering Syria and the Lebanon.

An admirable example of the confusion caused by the title of the Transjordan Frontier Force.

I am sending copies of this letter to Damascus and Beirut.

Yours ever

(A.S. Kirkbride)

P. Garran, Esq.,
The Foreign Office,
LONDON, S.W. 1.

P.3

E

1947

PALESTINE

E 10108

30 OCT

77

Registry Number } E 10108/951/31

FROM 7.U. Minute

No. 711 Dixon

Dated 14 Oct

Received in Registry } 30 -

11 M.E. Palestine Policy.

Left considers that we should be ready for all eventualities in the development of the Palestine Question towards H.M.G. suggestions that we should warn our Representatives in the Arab States to have the courage for any approach, and begin to work out possible compromise settlement.

Last Paper.

10107

References.

(Minutes.)

We should receive Mr Beeley's comments in due course

J. Bennett
Oct. 30

Now see E 10244/46/G & 10412/951/31.

JBNW. 5

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

10119

Minutes.

S of S. enter 78 E

E 10108 30 OCT

~~Eastern Dept.~~

Palestine.

The Secretary of State considers that we should be ready for all eventualities in the development of the Palestine question. One which he considers probable is that we may receive an approach from the Arab States, particularly if the majority plan is carried by a two-thirds majority in the Assembly or if there is a prospect of its being carried.

The Secretary of State therefore suggests that we should

(1) warn our Representatives in the Arab States to be on the lookout for any approach;

(2) begin to work out ourselves possible compromise settlements, which would all presumably be variants of partition.

PD

14th October, 1947.

Eastern Dept.

(1) has been done

I attach a paper on (2). It is generally agreed by C.O.

I have sent a copy to Mr Beeley

for

79

for his comments. But it may be useful to submit it in its present state meanwhile.

B A B Burrows
23 X

As regards (2) we shall be able to form a better view perhaps when (if) the two Sub-committees now set up in New York produce some proposals. Some form of international control of immigration & some enlargement of the powers of the Economic Board appear worth exploring & an adjustment of the boundaries is I suppose likely to be proposed in New York, as the Russians have raised the point & the present boundaries are so much open to criticism.

~~C A Warner~~

C A Warner
24/x.

Pte Secy

SECRET

Possible compromise settlements for Palestine.

The Secretary of State has suggested that we should begin to work out ourselves "possible compromise settlements "which would all presumably be variants of partition".

There are three main directions in which it is possible to modify the majority UNSCOP report:-

(1) Boundaries.

Mr. MacGillivray, of the Palestine Administration, who was attached to the United Nations Committee as liaison officer, has suggested that it would be possible to modify the majority plan boundaries in various ways so as to decrease considerably the number of Arabs in the Jewish State without significantly increasing the number of Jews in the Arab State. The proposed modifications are shown in the attached map and the advantages are described in the annexed paper prepared by Mr. MacGillivray for the Colonial Office. The total effect of the modifications proposed by Mr. MacGillivray (including the transfer of the Arab parts of Jaffa to the Arab State) would be that some 139,000 Arabs would be put inside the Arab State instead of inside the Jewish State, while about 3,000 Jews would be put inside the Arab State instead of the Jewish State. This would reduce the number of Arabs inthe Jewish State from 497,000 to about 358,000. The number of Jews in the Arab State would be increased from about 10,000 to about 13,000. A rather larger proportion of Jewish-owned land would be transferred to the Arab State. The largest single modification would be one designed to make Jaffa part of the Arab State and to connect it with that State by a broad corridor. Jaffa must clearly remain Arab and the proposed corridor is almost totally Arab-inhabited. This modification has, however, the disadvantage of separating the Jewish coastal belt into two parts.

Mr. MacGillivray has suggested only one minor modification of the allocation of territory in the Beersheba sub-district and the Negeb. There are strong grounds for suggesting that the whole of this area should become part of the Arab State. It is inhabited by some 90,000 Arab Bedouin and has at present only small local Jewish settlements with about 1,000 Jewish inhabitants. This change, in addition to the modifications described above, would reduce the number of Arabs in the Jewish State to about 268,000. On the other hand, the Jews have given great publicity to their plans for making the southern desert blossom like the rose and regard it as the main area of expansion for the Jewish population. They have already spent large sums of money there on pipelines etc. It would therefore be a particularly hard change for them to accept.

If all the modifications described above were introduced we should have a major change in the statistical position, which might perhaps go some way towards meeting Arab objections based on the subjection of so many Arabs to a Jewish Government, though it will clearly not be enough to satisfy the Arabs. Any more extensive modification of

the/

the boundaries would result in bringing large numbers of Jews into the Arab State unless there were major exchanges of population.

The changes suggested by Mr. MacGillivray do nothing to alter the fundamental conception of the majority plan of two States, each composed of separate pieces of territory connected with each other only by narrow and artificial corridors. In fact, as mentioned, the Jaffa corridor makes this situation even worse by dividing one of the Jewish units into two. Communications within the Arab areas are, however, greatly improved without damage to Jewish communications, except in the case of the Jaffa corridor. On the other hand, the incorporation of Beersheba and the Negeb in the Arab State would improve the position considerably from this point of view by linking up two of the three separate pieces of Arab territory and reducing the pieces of Jewish territory from four (if the Arab Jaffa corridor is accepted) to three.

(2) Immigration.

From the Arab point of view, probably the most crucial difference between the majority and minority reports is that the former suggests that 150,000 Jews should be allowed to immigrate into the Jewish State during the two-year transitional period and implies that thereafter the amount of immigration into the Jewish State shall be decided by the Government of that State without any restriction. The minority report suggests that for three years from the beginning of the transitional period Jewish immigration shall take place into the Jewish area of the Federal State in such numbers as not to exceed the absorptive capacity of that area, having due regard to the rights of the population in the area and their anticipated natural rate of increase. The absorptive capacity would be determined by an international commission consisting of three Arabs, three Jews and three U.N.O. representatives. There is no specific provision for immigration after this three-year period.

It is thought likely that the Jewish State under the majority plan of partition would in fact not want to encourage unlimited immigration after the transitional period because of the serious economic difficulties which it would cause. It is also suggested that if, after two years or so, conditions in Europe became more prosperous and conditions in the Jewish State were economically difficult, as would very likely be the case, the pressure of would-be immigrants would very greatly decline. On the other hand, the Jewish Government would find it extremely difficult to stop would-be immigrants and the more extreme elements would no doubt still encourage a large flow of immigrants in order to increase the population of the Jewish State for aggressive reasons, i.e. in order that in a few years' time they could claim that they had not sufficient living-room and must expand into neighbouring territories. The Jewish Agency have often reiterated the view that it must be a cardinal point of the policy of a Jewish State to reach early accommodation with the Arab State. They might therefore try to resist extremist activities of this kind. But, however this may be, the Arabs would never believe that Jewish

immigration/

immigration would automatically decrease or would be limited by a Jewish State. They would only be satisfied with limitation by an international authority.

It is impossible here to guess at the sort of figures on which a compromise might be reached, if indeed any agreed compromise on this point is possible at all. It would be most useful to discover privately from the Jewish Agency what sort of figures of immigrants they expected during and after the transitional period. But at the present stage it is unlikely they would be willing to commit themselves. If we did obtain a figure from them, we might, after reducing it by a fairly large margin to allow for exaggeration and optimism, discover what would be the Arab reaction to the idea of immigration limited to some such figure by international machinery.

(3) Constitutional changes.

These are perhaps likely to be less controversial than the two questions dealt with above. There will certainly be a large amount of room for negotiation with regard to the functions of the Economic Board, the allocation of Customs revenue, etc. If the powers of the Economic Board were much extended, one would arrive at some arrangement not far distant from a federal one, such as is proposed in the minority plan. If one wished to go as far as this, there would be much to be said for re-introducing something more like the cantonal scheme put forward by H.M.G. in February, 1947. This is the only sort of scheme which takes proper account of the diversified nature of settlement in Palestine. For both the UNSCOP plans, the division of Arab and Jewish inhabitants into several separate pockets is a fundamental disadvantage. It is in any case unnatural to divide Palestine; to divide it like a patchwork quilt is far more so. But to pursue this line of thought would be to get away from the terms of reference, which are to base our ideas on "variants of partition" and would incur as violent opposition from the Jews as does partition from the Arabs.

To sum up:

Something can be done to mitigate the territorial unfairness of the majority plan, but this is not likely by itself to be enough to secure Arab-Jew agreement. The prospects in other directions are poor, unless there is a marked change of general attitude on both sides. The best way we can secure this is not to put forward any particular compromise proposals, but to continue our present insistence on our own determination to withdraw and the difficulty of enforcing an unagreed settlement.

The Colonial Office are in general agreement.

23. X

Advantages in adjustments suggested.

Area 1. Safad sub-district.

(a) 14,220 Arabs, of whom only 430 are Christians, will be included in the Arab State. All but 100 of the 2,500 Jews who would be placed in the Arab State by this adjustment are residents of Safad, the majority of them belonging to those old families who were resident in Safad for centuries under Ottoman rule.

(b) The boundary suggested in this adjustment follows close to the top of the scarp forming the natural geographical boundary between the Huleh and the hills of northern Galilee.

(c) 66,581 dunums of Arab land and 3,963 dunums of Jewish land are transferred from the area of the Jewish State to that of the Arab State.

(d) Jebel Canaan with its modern Jewish hotels, its meteorological observation station, its commanding position guarding the approach to the Huleh past Rosh Pinna, and its new Jewish settlements of Birya and Qir Sara would be left in the Jewish State.

(e) The Arab State would acquire a market town for the hill country of the north; if Safad were placed in the Jewish State, the Arabs of the hill villages of the Safad sub-district would have to go considerable distances to Acre or Nazareth for their marketting and the development of this Arab area would be retarded.

If the alternative variant shown on the map were to be followed (i.e. the dotted line boundary) a further area of 28 square kilometres would be included in the Arab State. This area holds only 3,060 Arabs and about 100 Jews, but the land holdings are almost equal (14,576 dunums in Arab ownership and 13,177 dunums in Jewish); moreover it contains Jebel Canaan which is ~~from a~~ of strategical ~~point of~~ value to the Jewish State.

/Area 2.

Area 2. Tiberias sub-district.

(a) The inclusion of this area has the great advantage that it gives to the Arab State a road communication direct from Samaria and the south, passing east of Mount Tabor to the eastern part of the hills of Galilee and to Safad. The construction of a new road to the west of the present alignment would be impracticable on account of the deep trough of the Sahil el Battouf. Unless the existing road is included in the Arab State access to Safad and the Arab area of northern Galilee would be very circuitous, i.e. via the coastal plain of Acre.

(b) The inclusion in the Jewish State of the large olive growing village of Mughar (as proposed by UNSCOP) would split the Druze of Galilee between the Jewish and Arab States. There are 1,250 of them in Mughar.

(c) The suggested boundary adjustment will place the following additional populations and areas in the Arab State:-

	Population	Land ownership
Arab	10,540	140,000 dunums
Jewish	240	23,000 "

(d) The Druze place of annual pilgrimage near Hittin (Nebi Shuaib) would be placed in the Arab State.

Area 3. Nazareth sub-district

(a) 3,660 Arabs and 37,000 dunums of Arab owned land and 220 Jews and 9,500 dunums of Jewish owned land would be placed in the Arab State.

(b) The German colonies of Beit Lahm and Waldheim would remain in the Jewish State.

(c) The boundary of the Jewish State would remain at the foot of the scarp between the Nazareth hills and the plain of Esdraelon and would not there be in too close proximity to Nazareth.

Area (4) Jenin sub-district .

The boundary proposed by U.N.S.C.O.P. deprives the large Arab villages lying in the foothills along the Lajjun - Jenin road of most of their cereal growing land; this plain land is amongst the richest Arab land in the country and gives heavy yields of cereals. If deprived of this area (totalling 51,000 dunums all of which is cultivated) many of the 7000 inhabitants of the four villages concerned would be obliged to abandon agriculture and to seek other employment which might only be available in the Jewish State.

Areas (5) (6) and (7).

These three areas hold a Moslem population of 17,260 and not a single Jew. The land is held as follows:-

By Arabs	168,000	dunums
By Jews	7,500	"
Public	4,000	"
Total	179,500	

The new alignment proposed not only makes a much straighter frontier which generally follows along the base of the foothills but it gives to the Arab State the road communications which it must have for its economic life. The sections of these communications which the U.N.S.C.O.P. plan placed in the Jewish State are valueless to the Jews; they simply connect the Arab centres in the hills of Samaria with Tulkarm, and other Arab centres on the edge of the plain. Given the adjustments proposed there would be road links between Lajjun, Jenin, N blus and Ramallah direct with Baqa el Gharbiya, Tulkarm, Qalqilia, Majdal Yuba, Lydda and Ramle. The railway would remain in the Jewish State.

Area (8) Jaffa.

There are here two alternative proposals for linking Jaffa (less the Jewish quarters) with the Arab State by a corridor. In both proposals there would be a link similar to those near Affula and el Majdal to enable the free passage between parts of the Jewish State. This link would be near Mikwe Israel.

The first proposal is for a broad wedge which would contain some 74,000 dunums of Arab land, of which some 30,000 dunums is under citrus, and only 2,000 dunums of Jewish land. This corridor holds an Arab population of 30,000 and practically no Jews. It contains the railway from Lydda to the Port of Jaffa and ~~also~~ the main road from Ramle to Jaffa and also the road from Jaffa to Wilhelma and Lydda airport.

The second proposal is that only the southern portion of this wedge should be included in the Arab State so as to provide a corridor to Jaffa. This narrower corridor would still contain the railway to Jaffa Port and the main Ramle-Jaffa road. Under this arrangement 18,000 Moslem Arabs and some 40,000 dunums of Arab land situated in the northern half of the wedge would remain in the Jewish State. But there would also remain in the Jewish State the German property of Wilhelma and the road from Tel Aviv to Lydda airport; moreover the boundary could be so adjusted that access to Lydda airport could be obtained from the Jewish State without passing through the Arab State.

Area (9) Ramle.

This amendment cuts off a projection of the Jewish State into the Arab State east of the Lydda-Jerusalem railway. There will be some advantage in (a) having a

/straighter

straighter frontier and (b) the Lydda-Jerusalem railway lying wholly within one State. The populations and land holdings of this area are as follows:-

	Arab	Jewish
Population	2,550	260
Land	19,500 dunums	11,600 dunums

Area (10) Gaza.

This slight adjustment would bring the wholly Moslem village of Bureir (2,740 persons) and about 10,000 dunums of their land into the Arab State.

PALESTINE

INDEX TO VILLAGES & SETTLEMENTS

Scale 1:250,000

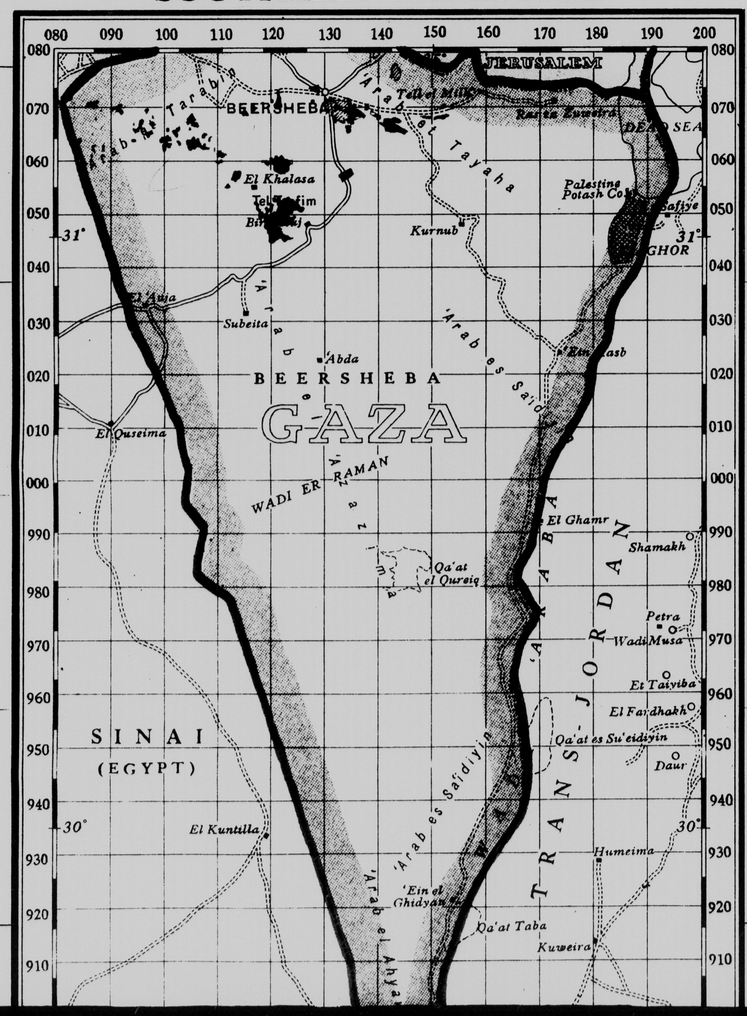
Kilometres 10 5 0 10 20 Kilometres

Miles 5 0 10 Miles

REFERENCE

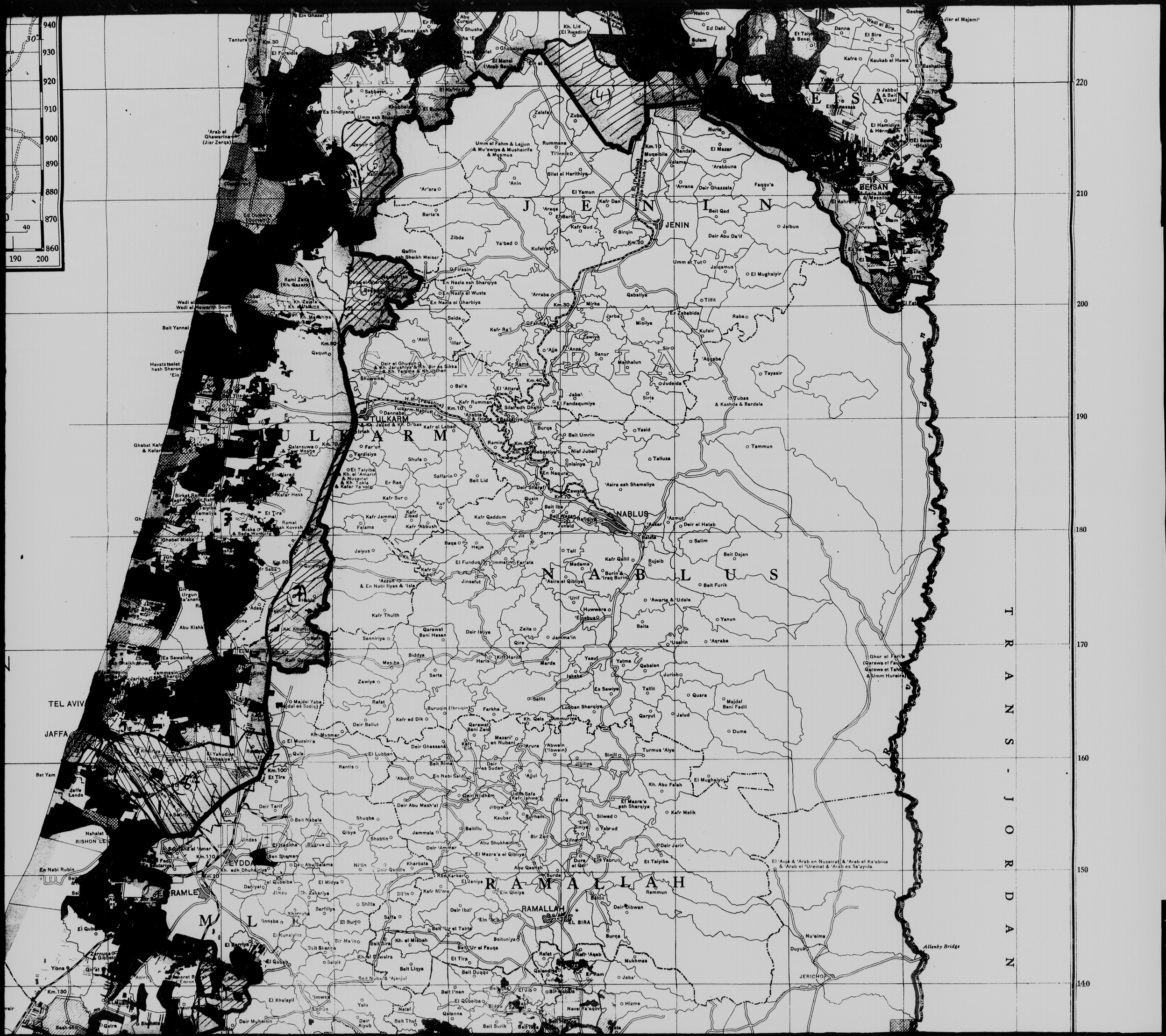
Towns	SAFAD
Arab Villages	Kisra
Jewish Settlements	Rosh Pinna
Main Roads	
Railway	

SOUTHERN PALESTINE

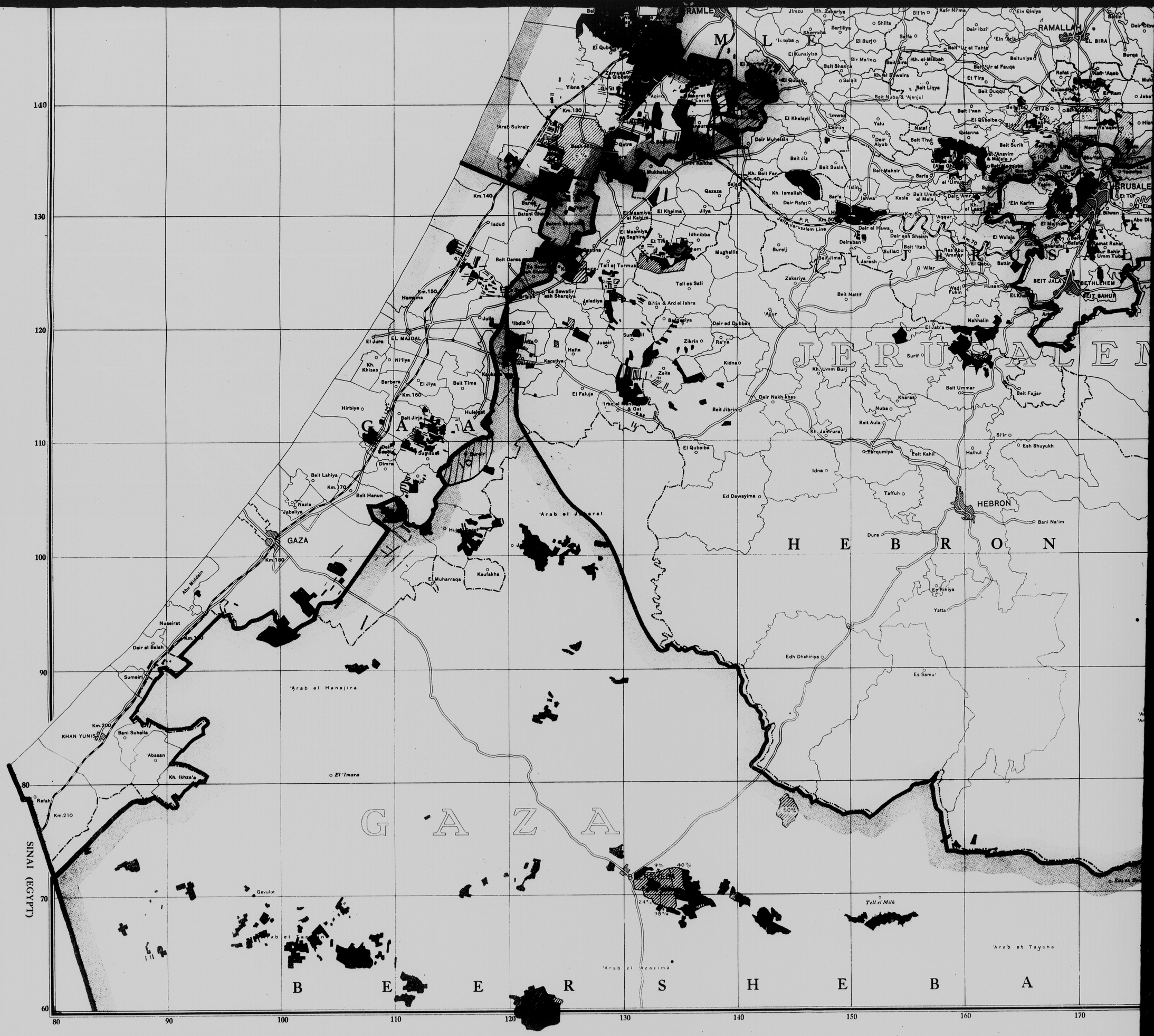



LEBANON
S Y R I A
A C R E
G A L I L E E
S A F A D
T I B E R I A S
H A I F A
NAZARETH
B E I S A N
LAKE TIBERIAS
(SEA OF GALILEE)
-212
BAY OF ACRE
Ras en Naqura
ACRE
HAIFA
SAFAD
NAZARETH
Shafa 'Amr
Ez Zib
Tarshiha & Kabri
Mi'ilya
Fassuta
Jish
Kafr Bir'im
Safsaf
Jubb Yusuf
Es Samakiya
El Tabigha
Hittin
Majdal
Lubiya
Kafr Kanna
Saffuriya
Er Reina
Kinneret
Semakh
Samakh
Golan
El Hamma
Sirin
Gesher
Jisr el Majami'
Kaukab el Hawa
Jabbul
Yubla
Tantura
El Fureidis
Ijzim
Jaba'
'Ein Haud
Daliyat el Karmil
'Isfiya
Balad esh Sheikh
Yajur
Ed Damun
Tamra
Kabul
Sha'b
Mi'ar
Sakhnin
Deir Hanna
'Arraba
Kaukab
Kafr Manda
Rummana
Tur'an
Kafr Yasif
Abu Sinan
Yirka
Judeida
Julis
Majd el Kurum
Deir el Asad
El Bi'na
Nahf
Sajur
Er Rama
Beit Jann & 'Ein el Asad
Farradiya
Hurfeish
Kisra
Yanuh
Jatt
Kafr Sumei'
Sabalan
Suhmata
Jiddin
'Amqa
Kuweikat
Es Sumeiriya
Manshiya
El Makr
Umm el Faraj
En Nahr
El Ghabisiya & Sheikh Dawud
Tarbikha
Iqrit
El Basse & Ma'sub
'Arab el 'Aramisha & 'Arab el Quleitat
Saliha
Fara
'Alma
Er Ras el Ahmar
Ammuqa
Marus
Mansurat el Kheit
Zanghariya (Zuhluq)
'Arab esh Shamalina (Kh. Abu Zeina)
El Hamidiya
Kafra
Danna
El Bira
Wadi el Bira
Indur
Nein
Ed Dahi
Sulam
Iksal
Umm Qubei
Waldheim (Umm el 'Amad)
Beit Lahm
Yagur
Nesher
El Tira
Umm ez Zinat
Ramat Hashofet
Haz Zorea'
Abu Shusha
Ghubaiyet
El Mansi ('Arab Baniha)
Kh. Lid (El 'Awadim)
El Kafrin
Sabbarin
Khubbeiza
El Buteimat
Es Sindiyana
Umm esh Shauf
Zubeiba
Ashdot Ya'aqov
Mahanaim
Sde Nehemya
Dafna
Kefar Gil'adi
Metulla
Ez Zawiya
El Muftakhira
Hula
Dawsheh
Khisas
'Arab Zubeid
H.R. (Palestine)
Km. 30
Km. 70
130
140
150
160
170
180
190
200
210
300
290
280
270
260
250
240
230
220
(1)
(4)

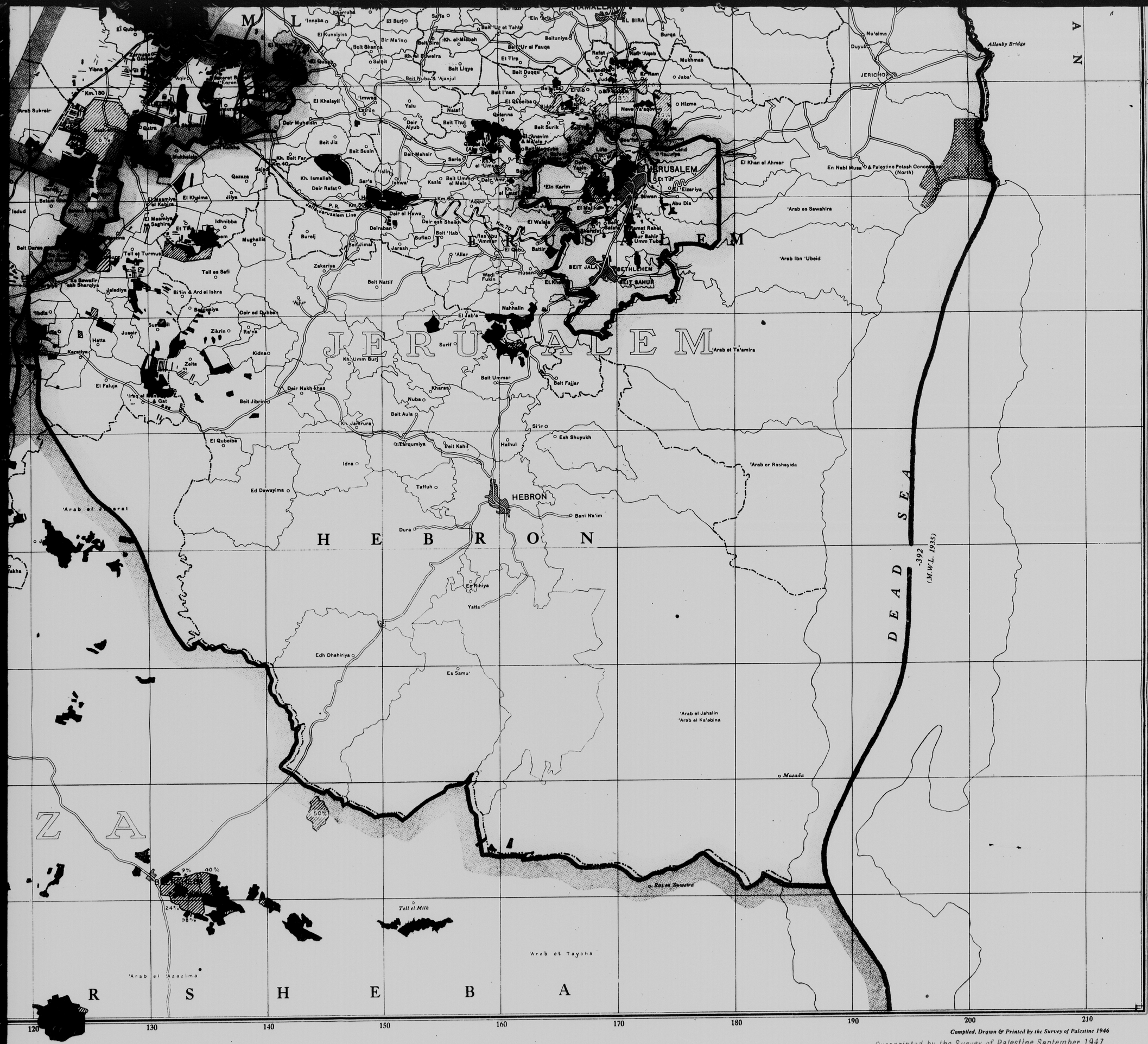

DETAILED MAP
U. N. S. C. O. P.
PARTITION BOUNDARIES
ARAB STATE
JEWISH STATE
JERUSALEM ENCLAVE
Amendments to boundaries
LAND IN JEWISH POSSESSION
(As at 30-6-47)
El Kuntilla
Humeima
'Ein el Ghidyan
Qa'at Taba
Kuweira
Tamad
Umm Resh
Taba
'AQABA
GULF OF 'AQABA
Scale 1:1,000,000
0 10 20 30 40
Kilometres
30°
35°
940
930
920
910
900
890
880
870
860
080 090 100 110 120 130 140 150 160 170 180 190 200
220
210
200
190
180
170
160
150
140
TEL AVIV
JAFFA
Bat Yam
TULKARM
LYDDA
RAMLE
RAMALLAH
EL BIRA
Tantura
Umm el Fahm & Lajjun
SAMARI
TULKARM
NA
RAMALL
(4)
(5)
(6)
(7)



JENIN
NABLUS
RAMALLAH
TULKARM
SAMARIA
BEISAN
TRANS-JORDAN
JENIN
NABLUS
TULKARM
RAMALLAH
EL BIRA
BEISAN
TEL AVIV
JAFFA
LYDDA
RAMLE
JERICHO
Bat Yam
Jaffa Lands
RISHON LE
Allenby Bridge
Tantura
El Fureidis
Umm el Fahm & Lajjun & Mu'awiya & Musheirifa & Musmus
Zububa
Muqeibila
Jalama
Sandala
El Mazar
Nuris
'Arabbuna
Faqqu'a
Beit Qad
Jalbun
Deir Abu Da'if
Birqin
Kafr Dan
'Araqa
Ya'bad
Zibda
Barta'a
'Ar'ara
Qaffin
Firasin
'Arraba
Qabatiya
Mirka
Jarba
Misilya
Ez Zababida
Raba
Kufeir
Tilfit
Jalqamus
El Mughaiyir
Umm et Tut
'Anza
Sanur
Meithalun
'Aqqaba
Tayasir
Jaba'
Siris
Tubas & Kashda & Bardala
Silat edh Dhahr
El Fandaqumiya
Kafr Rumman
'Anabta
Burqa
Beit Umrin
Yasid
Talluza
Tammun
Ramin
Sebastiya
Nisf Jubeil
En Naqura
Deir Sharaf
Zawata
'Asira ash Shamaliya
Beit Iba
Rafidiya
'Askar
'Azmut
Deir el Hatab
Salim
Balata
Rujeib
Kafr Qallil
Beit Dajan
Tell
Madama
Burin
Iraq Burin
Beit Furik
'Awarta
'Udala
Huwwara
Beita
Yanun
'Aqraba
Jamma'in
Zeita
Qira
Marda
Iskaka
Yasuf
Yatma
Qabalan
Jurish
Talfit
Qusra
Majdal Bani Fadil
Es Sawiya
Salfit
Lubban Sharqiya
Qaryut
Jalud
Duma
Turmus 'Aiya
Sinjil
Jiljiliya
Kh. Abu Falah
El Mughaiyir
Kafr Malik
'Abwein
'Arura
'Ajjul
Silwad
Yabrud
'Ein Yabrud
Deir Jarir
Et Taiyiba
Rammun
Deir Dibwan
Beitin
Burqa
Mukhmas
Jaba'
Hizma
Duyuk
Nu'eima
Bir Zeit
Jifna
Dura el Qar'
Beitunya
Rafat
Kafr 'Aqab
Qalandiya
Er Ram
Bir Nabala
Neve Ya'aqov
El Jib
Beit Iksa
Beit Surik
Qatanna
Biddu
Beit Duqqu
Beit Liqya
Kharbatha
Beit Sira
Beit Nuba & 'Ajanjul
Yalu
Latrun
'Imwas
Beit Thul
Deir Aiyub
Deir Muheisin
El Khalayil
Deir Qaddis
Ni'lin
Shuqba
Qibya
Budrus
Shabtin
Jammala
Deir 'Ammar
El Mazra'a el Qibliya
'Abud
Deir Nidham
Umm Safa
'Atara
Kaubar
Burham
Beitillu
Abu Shukheidim
Deir Abu Mash'al
Deir Tarif
Beit Nabala
Et Tira
El Yahudiya ('Abbasiya)
Km. 100
Km. 110
Km. 130
Qula
Rantis
El Lubban
Deir Ghassana
Beit Rima
Kafr 'Ein
Qarawat Bani Zeid
Mazari' en Nubani
Kh. Qeis
'Ammuriya
Farkha
Burqin (Ibruqin)
Kafr ed Dik
Deir Ballut
Rafat
Zawiya
Mas-ha
Sarta
Biddya
Haris
Kifl Harith
Deir Istiya
Qarawat Bani Hasan
Sanniriya
Kafr Thulth
'Azzun & En Nabi Ilyas & 'Isla
Jinsafut
El Funduq
Immatin
Far'ata
Kafr Laqif
Jaiyus
Kh. Sir
Hajja
Baqa
Jit
Sarra
Juneid
Kafr Qaddum
Kafr 'Abbush
Kafr Zibad
Kafr Jammal
Falama
Kur
Saffarin
Beit Lid
Kafr Sur
Er Ras
Shufa
Far'un
Fardisiya
Kafr el Labad
Dannaba
Irtah
Shuweika
Bal'a
Deir el Ghusun & Kh. Jarushiya & Kh. Bir as Sikka & Kh. Yamma & Kh. Ibthan
'Attil
'Illar
Seida
Qaqun
En Nazla esh Sharqiya
En Nazla el Wusta
En Nazla el Gharbiya
Beit Yannai
Qalansuwa
Et Taiyiba
Et Tira
Qalqiliya
Kafr Saba
Abu Kishk
Jammasin
Es Sawalima
Majdal Yaba
Mulebbis
H.R. (Palestine)
Tulkarm–Nablus Line
H.R. (Palestine) Afula–Nablus Line
Km. 10
Km. 20
Km. 30
Km. 40
Km. 50
Km. 60
Km. 70
Km. 80
Ghor el Fari'a (Qarawa el Fauqa & Qarawa et Tahta & Umm Hureira)
El 'Auja & 'Arab en Nuseirat & 'Arab el Ka'abina & 'Arab el 'Ureinat & 'Arab es Sa'ayida
Wadi el Bira
Et Taiyiba
Danna
El Bira
Kaukab el Hawa
Kafra
Jabbul
Beit Yosef
El Hamidiya
El Ashrafiya
Farwana
Jisr el Majami'
Geshe
Sulam
Ed Dahi
Nein
Kh. Lid (El 'Awadim)
Abu Zureiq
Ramat Yishai
Sabbarin
Es Sindiyana
Umm esh Shauf
Qannir
'Arab el Ghawarina (Jisr Zerqa)
Rami Zeita (Kh. Sazara)
Kh. Zalafa
Giv'at
Havatstselet hash Sharon
Ghabat Kafr Sur & Kefar
Tsur Moshe
Kefar Hess
Ramat Hakovesh
Birkat Ramadan
Ein Vered
Zalafa
Rummana
Ti'innik
Silat el Harithiya
'Anin
El Yamun
El Barid
Kafr Qud
Kufeirat
Ya'bad
Fahma
Kafr Ra'i
'Ajja
Zawiya
El 'Attara
Er Rama
Iktaba
Nur Shams
Jaladi & Kh. Di'bas
Ben Shemen
Kh. edh Dhaheiriya
Daniyal
Jimzu
Kh. Zakariya
Barfiliya
Shilta
Deir Ibzi'
'Ein Qiniya
'Ein 'Arik
El Burj
Bir Ma'in
Beit Ur et Tahta
Beit 'Ur el Fauqa
Kh. el Misbah
Kafr Ni'ma
Bil'in
El Qubab
El Barriya
Zarnuqa
Qubeiba
Yibna
Qatra
Bash-shit
'Innaba
Beit Shanna
Salbit
El Kunaiyisa
En Nabi Rubin
Nahalat
Kh. Kafr Nasir
940
930
920
910
900
890
880
870
860
190
200
40
220
210
200
190
180
170
160
150
140
(4)



Copyright strictly reserved - vide Ordinance No. 16 of 1924



Compiled, Drawn & Printed by the Survey of Palestine 1946

Overprinted by the Survey of Palestine September 1947

3r4

E

1947

PALESTINE

E10119

89

30 OCT

Registry Number } E10119/951/31.

TELEGRAM FROM U.K. Del New York

No.

Dated

Received in Registry } 3112. 29 Oct 30 -

Palestine, Sub Committee 2.

Refer New York tel 3102 (E10091/951/31)
On Oct 29 sub-committee 2 considered report of its working group on refugees and D.P.s.

Last Paper.

10108

References.

(Minutes.)

(J.E. CABLE) 30/10

UN. (E) Dept. first for obs.
UN. (Pol.) Dept.

R.J. Bevins Oct. 30

(Print.)

We are strongly opposed to this and any similar attempts to by-pass IRO. Such a sub-committee would probably include Slav representatives whose sole aim would be to prevent resettlement of non-Jews.

The Delegation's views as expressed in para 4 of this telegram are therefore acceptable to us and we have already taken action to that end on the advance copy of this telegram. AW Wilkinson 31/10

P.S. A copy of our reply is attached.

(How disposed of.)

A. Wakefield C.U.
M.1.30.
M.04.
Adpty
A.M. 30 Oct
(on E10097/49/31)
Del, New York. 3713
30 Oct

Rptd Geneva. 1993.

R.J. Bevins NW. 3

P. Gannon 3/XI

(Action completed.) 4/11

(Index) 31/8/48

Next Paper.

10102

Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P.

P.T.O.

90

In P.P. F.O. minute to Bookerley 20/10.

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on].

Cypher/OTP

WORLD ECONOMIC & SOCIAL DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No.5112
29th October, 1947

D. 7.28 p.m. 29th October, 1947
R. 2.15. a.m. 30th October, 1947

Repeated to Jerusalem; Geneva and Saving Washington.

E 10119

30 OCT

IMMEDIATE
FERTILE

My telegram No.5102 (not repeated Geneva).

Palestine committee.

On 29th October sub-committee 2 considered report of its working group on problem of refugees and displaced persons. This report recommended that refugees and displaced persons should be resettled in appropriate countries in accordance with a system of quotas, and that "the work of allocating quotas to the various countries should be undertaken by a special committee".

2. United Kingdom observer drew attention to resolution presented to Palestine Committee by his delegation (my telegram No.2880), and reminded sub-committee that this was still on the agenda. It provided for international co-operation through agency of IRO or its Preparatory Commission. He doubted wisdom of establishing a special committee which might complicate procedure without accelerating solution of problem. He also questioned whether any committee of the Assembly could "allocate quotas". It could surely do no more than make recommendations.

3. The draft was amended in the light of these objections and now reads: "a sub-committee of the General Assembly should be set up to recommend for acceptance of the members of United Nations a scheme of refugees and displaced persons to be re-settled in their respective territories. Sub-committee should as far as practicable work in consultation with I.R.O. or its preparatory Commission".

4. This text will be discussed shortly by the Palestine Committee. We assume that you would wish us to insist upon our own resolution, on the ground that proposed special committee would have no practical effect and would complicate machinery for carrying out the purposes which are common to both proposals.

5. Please keep us currently informed of progress made by preparatory commission in Geneva.

Foreign Office please pass Jerusalem and Geneva (For United Kingdom representative at IRO) as my telegrams Nos. 127 and 57 respectively.

[Repeated to Geneva and copies sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem].

Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

Minutes.

put with P.P.

E10119/957/31 92

Please see N.Y tel 3112 att.

I think we are on the right lines here and should endorse what they are doing subject to any comments Edmonds may wish to make

K.B. Oakley

30.X.

Parlia. U-S/S.

Yes.

C.R.M.
28/x.

tel sent.

30.X.

Registry No.

OUT FILE

93

IMMEDIATE
FERTILE

Despatched 30/10/47 5 p.m.

Draft. E.B.B.

Telegram. cypher.

Your tel 3112 [of 29th Oct: resolution in Palestine committee]

Subject to any comments U.K. delegate or PCIRO may have to make, we entirely endorse the line you have taken and hope you will act as proposed in your para 4.

30/x

U.K. Del
N.Y.
No 3713

R. U.K. Del
Geneva
1993

En Clair

World Econ & Soc. Dev.

Oct 30

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

OUT FILE 94

(WR)

En Clair

WORLD, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DISTRIBUTION.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK.

(To United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 3713. D. 5 p.m. 30th October, 1947.

30th October, 1947.

Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation Geneva No. 1993.

IMMEDIATE.
FERTILE.

Your telegram No. 3112 [of 29th October: resolution in Palestine Committee].

Subject to any comments United Kingdom delegate at P.C.I.R.O. may have to make, we entirely endorse the line you have taken and hope you will act as proposed in your paragraph 4.

333

PIT

E

PALESTINE

E 10121 95

30 OCT

1947

Registry Number. } E 10121/95/31.

TELEGRAM FROM

No. Mr Dandas

Dated Damascus

Received in Registry } 476 25 Oct 30

Syrian Palestine frontier.

Refer Palestine tel 1480. If intended to make communication by Govt of Palestine considers it would be useful to add the assurance contained in fourth para. Point in third para not made, previously see Damascus tel 439.

ADDRESSED JERUSALEM. 93

Last Paper.

10119

References.

(Minutes.)

The High Commissioner is very bellicose in his attitude towards the Syrians. This telegram suggests that Mr. Dandas is rather reluctant to make a communication to the Syrian Govt. on the lines suggested by the High Commissioner in E 10090 and wants instructions from us.

Please see also: E 10090
E 10096

(J. E. CABLE)
30/10

See E 10137

JB Nov. 4

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8, Matheson & O.
M.I.5a.
M.O.4
Admty
G.M.
Oct 30
(on E 10097/49/31)

(Action completed.) J E Cable 6/11

(Index.) 31/8/48

Next Paper.

E 10126

96

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1

E 14972

FROM DAMASCUS TO JERUSALEM

30 OCT

Mr. Dundas
No. 93

D. 9.22 a.m. 28th October, 1947.

28th October, 1947.

R. 10.45 a.m. 29th October, 1947.

Repeated to : FOREIGN OFFICE NO. 476
Beirut

E 10010

Your telegram No. 1480.

If I am instructed to make the communication from the Government of Palestine suggested in third paragraph of telegram under reference I consider it would be useful to add the assurance contained in fourth paragraph.

2. Point in third paragraph (b) was made by me quite firmly on October 11th (see third paragraph of my telegram No. 459 to Foreign Office repeated to you as my telegram No. 74) and had a sobering effect locally but would obviously carry more weight if message endorsed by Government of Palestine.

Repeated to Beirut as my telegram No. 38.

[Copy sent to Middle East Secretariat.]

MM

25-6

1947

E

PALESTINE

E10126 97

30 OCT

Registry Number } E10126/951/31

TELEGRAM FROM

No. UK Del New York.

Dated

Received in Registry } 31 05 29 Oct 30

Palestine Sub Committee One.

Refer New York tel 3093 (E10076/951/31)
Shertok yesterday put forward further proposals for modification of the UNSCOP boundaries, given list.

Last Paper.

10121.

References.

(Minutes.)

See E10138

(J. E. CABLE)
30/10

Mr. Beith
Oct. 31

JB Nov. 8

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8 Mathesan. Bd
1 M.I.5a.
MO4
Admty
A.M.
(on E10097/49/31)
✓ Oct. 30

(Action completed.)

G 6/11

(Index)

31/8/48

Next Paper.

E10137

Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P.

98

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

Cypher/OTP. WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION.

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No.3105. D. 12.24 p.m. 29th October, 1947.
R. 7.15 p.m. 29th October, 1947.

29th October, 1947.

Repeated to Jerusalem,
Washington - Saving.

IMMEDIATE.

GIANT.

10076

My telegram 3093.

Palestine Sub-Committee One.

Shertok yesterday put forward further proposals for modification of the U.N.S.C.O.P. boundaries as follows:-

(A) To include in the Jewish state the Musmus Pass Road from Lajjun to Wadi Ara and the village lands of Arara and Umm El Fahm lying to the north west of this road, on the grounds that the road formed a vital link between Sharon and Esdaelon.

(B) The boundary to be straightened south of Ain Shemer so as to include the Baqa El Gharbiya group of villages in the Arab state.

(C) From Kafr Qasim the boundary to pass in a straight line east of Majdal Yaba and Beit Nabala to Deir Abu Salama, thence turning westwards and passing between Lydda town and Lydda airport to the U.N.S.C.O.P. boundary in the neighbourhood of Sarafand. The purpose of this he explained was to include Ben Shemen and Lydda airport in the Jewish state.

(D) An expansion of the Jewish state area east of the Jerusalem railway line.

(E) Substantial adjustments in the Gaza sub-district which would bring the Isdud-Beit Daras area and the settlements of Gevar Am and Beerot Yitshaq into the Jewish state and change the position of U.N.S.C.O.P.'s point of intersection near Julis.

(F) Inclusion in the Jewish state of an area in Hebron sub district on the western shore of the Dead Sea extending inland to an average depth of seven kilometres and stretching from the Beersheba sub-district boundary northwards to latitude 30. He gave his reasons for this as (1) the sentimental desire to include the ruins of the old Jewish fortress of Masada and (2) the needs of Palestine potash.

/2.

2. Shertok summed up by stating that if the above proposals were taken together with the exclusion of Jaffa town from the Jewish state (to form an enclave of the Arab state) and the compromise suggestion he had put forward on Monday for the inclusion of the northern and eastern parts of western Galilee there would be added a million dunums to the Jewish state and the Arab minority in that state would be reduced by 30,000.

3. As regards the city of Jerusalem, Shertok proposed that the Jewish areas of the new city together with Mount Scopus should be an enclave of the Jewish state but that the old city should be under international trusteeship as proposed by U.N.S.C.O.P. If the Arabs wished to include their part of new Jerusalem in the Arab state, he had no objection. Arrangements would have to be made to ensure free access of Jews to Jerusalem just as Arabs would have to have free access to Jaffa. The Jewish Agency regretfully accepted the position that the Jewish settlements in the Jerusalem district, except those in the immediate vicinity of the city, would have to be left in the Arab state.

4. Sandstrom then gave explanations of the reasons which prompted the majority of the U.N.S.C.O.P.
(A) to include Jaffa in the Jewish state and
(B) not to divide Jerusalem into zones of administration as now proposed by the Agency. He also suggested that Lydda airport and Palestine potash works should come under the jurisdiction of the Economic Union. He was followed by Mohn who put forward arguments based on population figures against some of the Agency's suggested modifications.

5. In response to an invitation by the Chairman to comment on the proposals of the Jewish Agency, the United Kingdom representative referred to the absence of an Arab spokesman and expressed the hope that if in these circumstances he might sometimes appear to adopt a critical attitude to Jewish statements this would not be interpreted as in any way an indication of partisanship. He also made it clear that in offering comment on these statements he should not be taken as adopting any attitude as to their merits. After this preface he referred to maps which had been made available to the sub-committee by the United Kingdom Delegation and presented official figures of population in the various areas of the U.N.S.C.O.P. plan. He stated that he could not immediately confirm the figures given by the Jewish Agency relating to the effect of the modifications they proposed; he indicated however that caution was necessary in that certain factors had to be taken into account in their calculation. As regards Galilee he suggested that Shertok had perhaps rather overdrawn his picture of its present derelict character, mentioning the existing population density and the importance, for example, of the olive production. As regards Lydda airfield he said that he did not himself regard it as merely the airport of Tel Aviv: it was also the airport of Jerusalem and Haifa, indeed the international airport of Palestine.

/He

He drew attention to the difficulties that would result from ignoring village boundaries in drawing the frontier, and suggested that if this were done it would at least be necessary to provide certain safeguards for the Arab villagers affected.

6. Shertok replied to these points. Thereafter none of the members of the Sub-Committee appeared to have any questions to ask and there followed a desultory discussion on further procedure in the course of which the United States delegate said that he did not have at this stage anything to contribute, that his Delegation was not yet prepared to state whether they agreed or disagreed with the Jewish Agency's proposals, but that it might be possible to make better progress in the matter in a day or two. A proposal to set up a working group of four members (from which it was implied the Jewish Agency would be excluded) to study boundaries was not supported by the Soviet Union and the United States and [? grps. omtd.] was dropped. It was finally proposed by the Chairman that a member of the Sub-Committee should meet with a representative of the Jewish Agency and the Chairman of U.N.S.C.O.P. in an attempt to reconcile the U.N.S.C.O.P. boundaries with those of the Jewish Agency and report back to the Sub-Committee. Since no other member appeared willing to take on this work, the Chairman undertook to perform it himself.

7. The Sub-Committee then turned to an examination of the terms of the declaration on page 49 et seq of the United Nations edition of the U.N.S.C.O.P. report. After discussion of an amendment to section 5 of chapter 1, suggested by the United Kingdom (my telegram 3103 refers), the Soviet delegate criticised an amendment put forward by Czechoslovakia for the insertion of the words "on the basis of existing rights" after "to make decisions" in line 8 of section 5; the Soviet delegate finally reserved his position in regard to the whole of clause 5 until the question of the powers of the proposed Governor of the City of Jerusalem had been discussed further; he added, however, that prima facie he had some doubts as to whether the Governor could be granted the right proposed in this section. The United States delegate then proposed the inclusion after the first section of chapter 2, of the following new section. "All persons within the jurisdiction of the State shall be entitled to equal protection of the laws". This addition was accepted, as was also a proposal to add the words "or sex" at the end of section 1 of chapter 2, despite it being pointed out that this could not be acceptable to Moslems. No other amendment to chapter 2 was proposed.

Foreign Office please pass Immediate to Jerusalem as my telegram 126.

[Copies sent to Colonial Office for transmission to Jerusalem]

- - - - - -

357

E

1947

PALESTINE

E 10137 101

30 OCT

Registry Number } E10137/951/31

TELEGRAM FROM

No. 481 Dundas

Dated Damascus

Received in Registry } 481 29 Oct 10

Syrian Palestine frontier.

Refer Damascus tel. 476 (E10121/951/31) following from H/C Palestine. Telegram 93 quoted. Suggest if message may now be delivered to the Syrian Govt.

Last Paper.

10126

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8, Mathieson - C.O.
Admty
A.M.
M.I.5a.
M104

Oct. 4

Tel. Damascus 566
Repted. Beirut 683
RMEO 238
Baghdad 57
Cairo 153
Jedda 35
Amman 28

Nov 5.

(Action completed.)

(Indexed.)

Next Paper.

10138

(Minutes.)

INDEXED

Please see also E 10090 and E 10121. The High Commissioner has made a positive fetish out of the recent incidents on the Syrian frontier, which are now satisfactorily settled. He now wants Mr. Dundas to convey a direct message from the Palestine Government to the Syrian Government on the lines of paragraph 3 of his telegram No. 1480 to Damascus in E 10090.

I have discussed the matter with Mr. Mathieson, Colonial Office, and we are both agreed that there is no call for any further action and that part of the High Commissioner's proposed message is provocative. Mr. Mathieson has therefore sent me over for Foreign Office concurrence the attached draft telegram to Jerusalem which is designed to moderate the High Commissioner's ardour and to save his face by the insertion of the last sentence. I think we can agree to this draft and instruct Mr. Dundas to act as indicated in this sentence.

J.G.S. Beith

(J.G.S. Beith)
4th November, 1947.

Tel. sent
JB Nov. 5

5/XI

5/XI

P.70.

Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P.

102

8, Wathesian CO.
Nov. 10

In P.P. W.A.C. Wathesian & M' Beuta 1/11

In P.P. Damascus tel 502 7/11
" P'stine tel 2096 7/11

JB Nov. 14

103/K

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1

FROM DAMASCUS TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Dundas
No. 481

D. 9.05 a.m. 30th October, 1947.
R. 10.30 a.m. 30th October, 1947.

29th October, 1947.

Repeated to Beirut Saving

IMMEDIATE

E 10121/121

My telegram No. 476 to you.

High Commissioner Palestine has sent me following telegram.

[Begins]

My[sic] telegram No. 93 is noted and I would be much obliged if my message may now be delivered to the Syrian Government.

[Ends]

2. I shall be grateful for instructions.

///

E 10137

30 OCT

Y5842/154/16
104

Colonial Office
1 November 47.

My dear Beith, see minute JB 5 NOV 4.

We spoke about Palestine telegram No 1480 to Damascus. I enclose a draft on the lines I mentioned, which I think is sufficient in itself to explain our view. I should be glad if you could let me know if you agree with its terms. You will no doubt

105

then arrange for it to be repeated to New York and Bad posts and for any necessary covering telegram to be sent to Damascus.

Yours ever,

G M Mathieson

75872/154/16.

Mathieson

TELEGRAM

No. _____ Top Secret.

IMMEDIATE

HIGHCOMA,
JERUSALEM.

Repeated to:
UKDEL, New York.
Baghdad,
Cairo,
Beirut,
Jeddah,
Amman.
Damascus

Your telegram to Damascus No. 1480, repeated to me No. 2008. Syrian troop movements.

HM Charge d'Affaires, Damascus, has asked for instructions regarding the form of presentation of your message to the Syrian Government. As indicated in my telegram 2547, there are good grounds for refraining from further official representations on this subject, particularly as the recent incidents have been satisfactory settled. In making clear to Syrian ministers the attitude of the Palestine Government and of HMG to provocative action by Syrian forces, HM Charge d'Affaires has, of course, made the points you stressed in paragraph 3 of your telegram

/(Damascus ...

(Damascus telegrams to Foreign Office 439, 464 and 476, all repeated to you refer). He has now been instructed, however, to seek an opportunity to re-emphasize informally the importance which the Palestine Government attaches to the maintenance of correct and friendly relations on the northern frontier, which they for their part will do their utmost to preserve.

SECER.

Registry No. E10137/451/31

OUT FILE

108

~~Top Secret.~~
~~Secret.~~
Confidential.
~~Restricted.~~
~~Open.~~

Draft. Tel.

Damascus
~~Jerusalem~~
566.
Deptl. No. 1
Nov. 5th
Cypher

Repeat
Jerusalem
683. Beirut
No
BMEO
No 236 SAV
Baghdad
No 67 SAV.
Cairo
No 153 SAV.
Jedda
No 35 SAV
Amman
No 38 SAV

Copy Co.
(W matrices)

RECEIVED IN C.B.
7 NOV 1947
SENT TO DEPT.

IMPORTANT
CONFIDENTIAL
Your tel. No. 489 [7 Nov. 4 : Syrian - Palestine frontier]

You are authorised to seek an opportunity to re-emphasise informally to the Syrian Govt. the importance which the Palestine Govt. attach to the maintenance of correct and friendly relations on the northern frontier, which they for their part

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

(28555) Wt. 43698—114 200m 2/47 G.S.St. Gp. 620

720 pm

109

part will do their utmost to preserve. Please see Colonial Office ~~C.O.~~ tel. no. 2711 to Jerusalem in this connexion.

JBMW.5

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

110

OUT FILE

E10137/951/31
CONFIDENTIAL
Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO DAMASCUS

No. 566
5th November, 1947. D. 2.00 a.m. 6th November, 1947

Repeated to Jerusalem
Beirut No. 683
B.M.E.O. Cairo No. 238)
Bagdad No. 57)
Cairo No. 153) SAVING
Jedda No. 35)
Amman No. 38)

IMPORTANT
CONFIDENTIAL

Your telegram No. 489 [of November 4th: Syrian - Palestine frontier].

You are authorised to seek an opportunity to re-emphasise informally to the Syrian Government the importance which the Palestine Government attach to the maintenance of correct and friendly relations on the Northern frontier, which they for their part will do their utmost to preserve. Please see Colonial Office telegram No. 2711 to Jerusalem in this connexion.

0 0 0 0

111

10137 91-1 21 INDEXED

8 NOV 1947

En Clair

FILES

FROM DAMASCUS TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Dundas
No. 502
7th November, 1947.

D. 4.15 p.m. 7th November, 1947

R. 5.37 p.m. 7th November, 1947

Your telegram No. 566. Palestine.

Colonial Office telegram No. 2711 to Jerusalem not received please repeat.

C.O. asked to repeat JB Nov-8

112

16.

INWARD TELEGRAM

E 1/

11 NOV 1947

Cypher (O.T.P.)

FROM PALESTINE (General Sir A. Cunningham)

TO S. OF S., COLONIES.

D.7th November, 1947.
R.7th " " 15.00 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 2096 Top Secret.

Reference your telegram No. 2711.

In view of the time that has elapsed it is, of course, too late for the message I wished delivered to have the effect I intended. I should no doubt have delivered it through channels already existing in Palestine.

Distributed to:-

R.243
Secretary of State
Sir T. Lloyd
Mr. Rees-Williams
Sir S. Caine
Sir C. Jeffries
Mr. Holding

Foreign Office -
Mr. Martin
Mr. Trafford Smith
Mr. Gutch
Mr. Mathieson
Mr. Higham
Mr. Galsworthy
Mr. Holmer
Mr. Gibson
Mr. Beith.

258

E

113

E 10138

30 OCT

1947

PALESTINE

Registry Number } E10138/957/31

TELEGRAM FROM U.K. Del New York.

No. 3117

Dated

Received in Registry } 30 Oct

Palestine, Sub Committee 2nd.
Refer New York tel 3105 (E10126/957/31)
Palestine Sub-Committee 2nd continued its examination of the terms of the declaration, from Government.

Last Paper.

10137

References.

(Minutes.)

See E10126

(J.E. Cable)
31/10

(Print.)

The proceedings in Sub-Committee up till now have been ~~one~~ ~~quite~~ unrealistic, as it is becoming pretty clear that the U.S.G. will ~~[illegible]~~ work to modify, rather than to extend, the Jewish area allotted under the Majority Report (see para. 8 of this tel.) At the same time the U.S.G. are working on a higher level at their own plan.

D.S. Beith
Oct. 31

(How disposed of.)

8, Mathieson CO
A.M.
Admty
M.1.3a
M.04
Nov 4
(on E10137)

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

E 10142

See within: New York 3137 of 31/10.

E10138/951/31 E 114

AMENDMENT SLIP

E

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

Telegram No. 5117 from New York (Delegation) to Foreign Office of 30/10/47.

Please amend date of telegram to "29th October".

COMMUNICATIONS DEPARTMENT
31st October, 1947

115

E

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

Cypher/OTP. WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION.

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No.3117. D. 1.29 a.m. 30th October, 1947.
R. 8.25 a.m. 30th October, 1947.

30th October, 1947.
Repeated to Jerusalem,
Washington - Saving.

E 10138
30 OCT

IMMEDIATE.

GIANT.

My telegram 3105.

Palestine Sub-Committee 1 this morning continued its examination of the terms of the declaration.

2. In regard to Section 1 of chapter 3, the United States delegate expressed the view that it was undesirable to permit a resident of one state to opt for citizenship of the other without any condition as to future residence; if the section remained as worded, large numbers of Arabs, while intending to remain resident in the Arab state, might opt for citizenship of the Jewish state simply in order to upset the ratio of Arab and Jewish votes in the Jewish state. He therefore proposed the insertion of the words "on the condition that they remove to that state within a period of an additional year" after the words "may opt within one year for the citizenship of the other state". The Soviet delegate and the representative of the Jewish Agency asked to reserve their positions on this question. Shertok pointed out that the proposal would also affect the position of Arabs in the Jewish state, and said that the Agency would not wish to be a party to any provision which might be interpreted as designed to exert pressure on the Arabs to move their residence; there should be complete freedom of choice. The amendment proposed was deferred for later consideration.

3. The United Kingdom representative, referring to the apparent gap in this section in respect of citizens of the city of Jerusalem who did not opt for citizenship of the Arab state or the Jewish state, said that he assumed that they could not be left stateless. He also expressed apprehension lest the arrangement proposed in this section should, on account of divided loyalties, give rise to administrative difficulties. Finally he suggested that since proposals in regard to the administration of Jerusalem, at variance with those of U.N.S.C.O.P., had already been put forward, further discussion of this section might profitably be postponed until the Subiya Committee had decided what to recommend in regard to a future régime for the city.

4. Discussion then passed to section 2, and after the United Kingdom delegate at the Sub-Committee's request, had given a summary of the conventions and agreements to which the section refers, Shertok expressed the view of the Agency that while there was no objection to the succession of states

/being

being bound to conventions of international application, bilateral agreements such as trade agreements with neighbouring states which had been negotiated on the basis of a unitary Palestine should not be held binding. Tentative agreement with this view was indicated by the delegates of the Soviet Union, the United States and Uruguay. After some discussion, the delegate of Guatemala was asked to confer with the representatives of the United Kingdom and the Jewish Agency, and to report to the Sub-Committee as to whether some formula could be devised whereby the Arab and Jewish states would be given some freedom in regard to existing agreements.

5. Referring to the second paragraph of section 3, Granados stated that certain concessions granted by the Mandatory had been ruinous to the economy of the country, and suggested that this paragraph be amended so as to allow of revision of these concessions, following their examination by some special international board appointed to report as to whether their terms were equitable. The Soviet Union expressed general agreement with this suggestion.

6. As to financial obligations, Shertok pointed out that the section was silent in regard to their apportionment between the two states and the city of Jerusalem; Granados replied that the intention of U.N.S.C.O.P. was that this should be left for decision by the Joint Economic Board. See my telegram 3114 regarding other discussion on this section.

7. Discussion on all points in chapter 3 was inconclusive. The Chairman therefore authorised the representative of Uruguay to discuss section 1 informally with individual members of the Sub-Committee and of the Jewish Agency, and to report back to the Sub-Committee with concrete recommendations for amendment; the representative of Guatemala was authorised to take similar action in respect of sections 2 and 3.

8. At the end of the morning's meeting, the United States representative read out the following statement:

"As a basis for proceeding with the determination of boundaries I would like to make a proposal: while it is the view of the United States Delegation that every consideration should be given to the recommendations of the Jewish Agency regarding revision of the boundaries as laid down in the majority plan, it is nevertheless our view that the U.N.S.C.O.P. report should be examined in an effort to reduce to the extent feasible the size of the Arab minority in the Jewish state, and to bring into greater harmony than is present in U.N.S.C.O.P. report the size of the two states and the populations which are to inhabit them. If these two general principles as to boundary revisions are given the approval of this Committee, then it is the opinion of the United States Delegation that great gains can be made by authorising and putting to work today, the working party of four that was suggested yesterday by the honorable delegate of Guatemala." The four Delegations suggested yesterday by Guatemala for this working party were

/these

117

those of the Soviet Union, the United States, Czechoslovakia and Uruguay.

Foreign Office please pass Immediate to Jerusalem as my telegram 126.

[Copy sent to Colonial Office for transmission to Jerusalem]

- - - -

118

10138 957/31 INDEXED E

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on].

Cypher/OTP

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 3137.

31st October 1947.

D. 4.47. p.m.
31st October 1947.

R. 11.17. p.m.
31st October 1947.

Repeated to Jerusalem,
Washington, Saving.

GIANT

Palestine Sub-Committee one.

The second sentence of paragraph 3 of my telegram No. 3117 should read as follows:-

"He also indicated the possibility of administrative difficulties arising from divided loyalties should effect be given to the arrangement proposed in this section".

Foreign Office please pass immediate to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 132.

[Copy sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for retransmission to Jerusalem.]

JB Nov. 3

35-9

8

E

E 10142 119

30 OCT

1947

PALESTINE

Registry Number } E10142/95-1/31

TELEGRAM FROM U.K. Del

No. New York.

Dated 31st

Received in Registry } 29 Oct 30

Last Paper.

10138

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8, Mathieson, CO.
M.13a
M.O.4
Admiralty
A.M.
Nov 4
on (E 10137)

P.T.O.

(Action completed.) PEM 6/11

(Index.) 5/11

Next Paper.

10152

Palestine Sub Committee.

In discussion on Sub Committee on para 3 "financial obligations" question has arisen of extent of financial obligations involved (including liability for pensions compensation or gratuities). Further comments.

ADDRESSED PALESTINE 128

(Minutes.)

Finance Dept.
FHS. 5/11

This is essentially a CO. matter but you may be interested.

H. S. Beeley
Oct. 31

JBNW 5

Reference: FO 371/61885

Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P.

120

Tel, New York.
3888
13, Nov.
Rptd Jerusalem 2810
by C.O.

8, Patch, 00.
Nov. 15

E 121

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

CYPHER/OTP

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR PALESTINE
(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

D.10.12 p.m. 29th October 1947
R.10.07 a.m. 30th October 1947

No:128
29th October 1947
Repeated to FOREIGN OFFICE No:3114
Washington Saving

E 10142
30 OCT

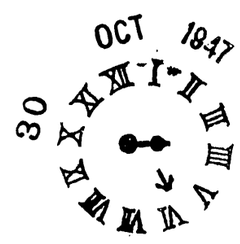
IMMEDIATE
GIANT

Following from Martin.

In discussion in sub committee on paragraph 3 "financial obligations" in Chapter 3 of proposed "declaration" in Chapter VI of UNSCOP report (which should be read with statement of first charge on customs revenue in description of economic union in following section of report) question has arisen of extent of financial obligations involved (including liability for pensions compensation or gratuities). I thought it desirable to drop a hint that these obligations might be found to be fairly considerable and that it might be necessary at a later stage to discuss further the effect on the finances of the successor states (in the event of partition) of the acceptance of such a charge.

2. What I had in mind (though I did not say so) was possibility that if the charge, particularly for compensation of civil servants and police, were found to be unduly burdensome certain elements might be regarded as among the special liabilities of the transition period towards which the United States might be prepared to make a contribution.

3. United States delegation and others have asked us for our estimate of financial obligations in question. Shall be grateful if you will telegraph urgently through Colonial Office (who may have comments to add) your advice as to reply on this point. We have here Linday's letter to Macgillivray CSU/38/47 of 29th September to which you may wish to refer.
44



Colonial Office 122

13 Nov 19

Dear Keith,

We should be grateful if you could arrange for the despatch of the attached telegram to New York; it is to help Martin on some financial matters he has referred to Palestine. We have already sent it to Jerusalem.

Yours sincerely,

E M H Matheson

Registry No.

~~Top Secret~~.
Secret.
~~Confidential~~.
~~Restricted~~.
~~Open~~.

Draft.

Sir A. Cadogan
New York
~~IMMEDIATE~~

Telegram.

No. 3888

(Date) 13th Nov.

Repeat to :—

~~En Clair~~.
~~Code~~.
Cypher.

Distribution :—

Copy to Colonial Office: Mr Gutch.

RECEIVED IN C.B.
1 NOV 1947
SENT TO DEPT.

Copies to :—

CYPHER

123

OUT FILE

E.

13 194

Despatched 7 M.

IMMEDIATE
SECRET

[Repeated Jerusalem by Colonial Office No. 2810 for Gurney.]

Following for Martin from Gutch, [Colonial Office.] Your telegram to Jerusalem No. 128 and their reply repeated to you as No. 72 Staff. [Estimate of financial obligations.] As regards figures for pensions, gratuities, etc., we agree, subject to the comments below, that the assumptions in para. 4 of the Jerusalem telegram may be accepted as a tentative working basis, though it will be noted that it is the Palestine intention to make further representations on the subject. On the other hand, from our point of view, you will appreciate that the terms proposed are subject to Treasury

/approval.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

3149 Wt. 26469/137 100m 9/46 (51) F.&S.

Reference: FO 371/61885

approval.

2. Funding of earned pensions, as proposed at (i) of para. 4, would of course require a much larger immediate provision than the alternative of setting aside an adequate capital sum to cover pension payments, but we see no objection to adopting the figure of £P.11,000,000 for the immediate purpose in view namely of giving the United States delegation and other enquirers some idea of the possible magnitude of the liability under this head. Presumably a large proportion of expatriate officers will opt for transfer elsewhere and it should be possible to arrange this in the majority of cases, thus reducing the pension and gratuity commitment. On the other hand there will be other liabilities which would swell the total very considerably. It should therefore be made clear that the estimate of liabilities is by no means exhaustive.

3. Please pass copy ~~saving~~ to Washington reference Palestine telegram No.71 Staff.

JB Nov. 13

124

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

125

Secret

OUT FILE

Cypher/OTP

FILES

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK

(To United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

No. 3888

D. 7.45 p.m. 13th November, 1947.

13th November, 1947.

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

[Repeated Jerusalem by Colonial Office No. 2810 for Gurney.]

Following for Martin from Gutch, [Colonial Office]. Your telegram to Jeruslaem No. 128 and their reply repeated to you as No. 72 Staff. [Estimate of financial obligations.] As regards figures for pensions, gratuities, etc., we agree, subject to the comments below, that the assumptions in paragraph 4 of the Jerusalem telegram may be accepted as a tentative working basis, though it will be noted that it is the Palestine intention to make further representations on the subject. On the other hand, from our point of view, you will appreciate that the terms proposed are subject to Treasury approval.

2. Funding of earned pensions, as proposed at (i) of paragraph 4, would of course require a much larger immediate provision than the alternative of setting aside an adequate capital sum to cover pension payments, but we see no objection to adopting the figure of £P.11,000,000 for the immediate purpose in view namely of giving the United States delegation and other enquirers some idea of the possible magnitude of the liability under this head. Presumably a large proportion of expatriate officers will opt for transfer elsewhere and it should be possible to arrange this in the majority of cases, thus reducing the pension and gratuity commitment. On the other hand there will be other liabilities which would swell the total very considerably. It should therefore be made clear that the estimate of liabilities is by no means exhaustive.

3. Please pass copy to Washington reference Palestine telegram No. 71 Staff.

///

360

1947

E

PALESTINE

E 10152
31 OCT

126

Registry Number } E10152/951/31

FROM Brigadier Houston

No. RM 50

Dated 31/23/1.9.

Received in Registry } 25 Oct 31

Palestine Situation

Transmits short appreciation of the situation in the Middle East over Palestine.

Last Paper.

10142.

References.

(Minutes.)

This largely confirms our own impressions of the Arab reactions to the various statements made by the Great Powers.

RMAH 10/11

Northern Dept

Egyptian Dept. DCH Riches 12/11 PW 12/11

(J. E. CABLE) 1/11

(Print.)

This is a very fair statement and, as Mr Cable says, confirms our existing information

R. G. Reid
NW. 1

(How disposed of.)

I think it goes a little further than our previous impressions, and suggests that we may have a ~~little~~ good extra elbow room in working (behind the scenes) for a settlement.

R G Jarman 2/XI

BABBINGTON 3.XI

(Action completed.)

J E Cable 2/11

(Index.)

Next Paper.

10177

32003 F.O.P 3/01

Enter E

BRITISH MIDDLE EAST OFFICE,
10 SHARIA TOLUMBAT,
CAIRO.

127

31/23/1. G.

25th October, 1947.

SECRET.

E 10152
31 OCT

My dear Bernard,

I enclose, for what it is worth, a short appreciation of the situation in the Middle East over Palestine, as I see it.

I am handicapped at the moment in getting about by the cholera restrictions - otherwise I should have had far more contacts than I have been able to make these last three weeks.

I am sending copies of this letter and note to Beirut, Jerusalem and Baghdad.

Yours ever
Kelly

Bernard Burrows, Esq.,
Foreign Office,
LONDON.

6. Throughout all the bellicose and intransigeant speeches and communiqués which have been publicised in the last few days all the leaders have been very careful to assert again and again that they intend to do everything to avoid a clash with British forces and to wait before taking any action until these have been withdrawn. Even the Mufti has spoken in this sense.

7. They read into the British statements at Lake Success a refusal to impose what they consider an unjust settlement and a disinclination even to take any part in imposing it. Over the Palestine question we are, indeed, in a better position vis-à-vis the Arabs than we have been since the publication of the 1939 White Paper and there now appears a chance of disentangling ourselves from the thorny Palestine tangle without forfeiting the good will of the Arab States.

8. Nevertheless, until we do actually withdraw our forces from Palestine it seems that we should, as suggested in Jerusalem telegram No. 1921 to the Colonial Office, protest against the movement of Arab regular forces to the Palestine frontier, the most obvious case being that of Syria, who previously had no troops at all in the area. We may get a reference in return, if not officially, then unofficially, to the recent manoeuvres of the Arab Legion near the Syrian frontier, but the Syrian Government were not slow to react to this incident.

9. From the Jewish point of view we shall be accused of having deserted them for our own purposes. There will always be Jews, however, who will remember what we have done for them in the past and we shall at least be in a position to promote in course of time the understanding between Jew and Arab which is essential if the Middle East is not to be a permanent centre of unrest.

~~10. I am sending a copy of this letter to the Embassy at Baghdad~~

I.N.C.

NOTE.

1. The attitude adopted by the U.S.S.R. delegate at Lake Success may be inspired by the desire to obtain by participating in the implementation of the majority recommendation of U.N.S.C.O.P. a foothold in the Middle East. If so, it must be looked on from this point of view with some disquiet. From the point of view of our relations with the Arab World in general it appears to offer us certain compensating advantages.

2. At the present moment Great Britain remains the only one of the Great Powers who has not declared definitely in favour of a Jewish State in Palestine, and the declarations of Mr. Creech-Jones have received a decided welcome from the Arab leaders.

3. Until recently the main danger in the Middle East has been that if Great Britain, independently, adopted a line considered by the Arabs as definitely against their interests they would in the end be forced to look elsewhere for support and this could only be to Russia. When Arabs have made threats of severing economic relations this course has been at the back of their minds. Their very anxiousness to point out how averse they were to any dealings with Russia is to some extent proof of this.

4. The Arab countries are not and never have been anxious to sever their connection with us. Their leaders have again and again expressed their distress at the possibility that a wrong policy (in their eyes) followed by us in Palestine might end by forcing them into such a course. They believe that their future should develop in close association with us.

5. They do not expect us to be able to force the other Great Powers to follow our policy. They realise that in the case of Libya and now of Palestine we are faced by a powerful opposition which we cannot disregard; they hope, however, for a sympathetic attitude from us. They will perhaps accuse us of having created the situation in Palestine as it now exists by facilitating Jewish immigration into that country, but even in this many of them believe that our hands were forced by external influences. But of one fact they are wholly conscious - their inability to dispense with some outside help. Until the declaration of the U.S.S.R. there was always the possibility, not entirely repugnant to many elements, of turning to Russia. Now the latter is lined up with their enemies. Great Britain remains the one power which appears to have shown some sympathy with the Arab case. Their inclination is and always has been to choose her as a partner and there is/no rival in the field.

now/

6./

261

E

PALESTINE

1947

E 10177 130

31 OCT

Registry Number } E10177/951/31

TELEGRAM FROM U.K. Del New York.

No. 3122

Dated

Received in Registry } 30 Oct 31

Palestine, Sub Committee One.

Refer New York tel 3117 (E10158/951/31) Yesterday's meeting of sub. committee 1. was largely occupied with discussion on future procedure in the examination of boundaries.

Full text.

Last Paper.

10152

References.

(Minutes.)

(C.T.E. CABLE) 3/11

Para. 2 throws interesting light on the U.S. view

M.S. Beith
Nov. 3

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8, Mediterranean S.O.
M.I.3/a.
M.O.4
Admiralty
A.M.
(on E10137) Nov 4

129
3/XI

(Action completed.) 3/11

(Index.) 31/8/48

Next Paper.

E10205

131

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on].

Cypher/OTP

WORLD ORGANISATION
DISTRIBUTION.

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 3122. D. 2.30 p.m. 30th October, 1947.
30th October, 1947. R. 9.30 p.m. 30th October, 1947.
Repeated to Jerusalem and Washington (Saving).
IMMEDIATE.
GIANT.

My telegram No. 3117.

Yesterday'afternoon's meeting of Palestine sub-committee 1 was largely occupied with discussions on future procedure in the examination of boundaries. It was clear that the delegates of the Soviet Union, Venezuela and Poland did not like the proposal revived by the United States for a working group of four; they appeared to prefer some arrangement which would confine examination to the merits of the Jewish Agency's proposals. The chairman finally decided that he and the rapporteur and secretary of the sub-committee would supervise the preparation of a map and statistics showing the effect of the Jewish Agency's proposals and would in the light of these proposals suggest revised alignments.

2. In the course of this discussion Herschel Johnson stated that the United States delegation would not be able to support the Jewish Agency's claims and would suggest modifications which although not departing radically from the U.N.S.C.O.P. outline would substantially diminish the Arab minority in the Jewish state. He indicated that he favoured Jaffa as an enclave of the Arab state; economic union was an essential feature of the U.N.S.C.O.P. plan of which his delegation had expressed general support and there was therefore no real need he thought for Jaffa to be linked territorially with the main body of the Arab state.

3. Discussion then passed to Chapter 4 of the Declaration. The representatives of the Soviet Union and Venezuela suggested that there was no need to specify the organ of the United Nations, the attention of which might be drawn to any infraction of the stipulations of the Declaration; they suggested substitution of "United Nations Organisation" for "General Assembly". The sub-committee hurried past this point of wider controversy without making any decision on the amendment proposed and proceeded to a discussion of the clauses providing for economic union.

4. In a preliminary statement Shertok whilst accepting the principle of economic union and recognising its advantages to all parties made two reservations.

First/

132

First that the Agency did not regard economic union as essential to the setting up of independent states and that if the Arabs declined to enter into the Treaty proposed, the Agency was prepared to proceed without it; there would inevitably have to be economic ties but these need not be imposed by constitutional provision; they could be effected in due course by mutual agreement. Secondly that the union should not curtail the sovereignty of the Jewish state; there was a field of economic activities such as foreign exchange and export and loan policy in which the state must have freedom. The Agency fully accepted however the necessity for acceptance of the principle of economic equality within the two states. The particular amendments which the Agency desired to make in the clauses of the U.N.S.C.O.P. report relating to economic union were then explained by Horowitz. These provided for:

(a) liberty to enter into commercial agreements other than those affecting customs tariffs;

(b) means of retaliation should the Arabs both inside and outside Palestine continue their boycott of Jewish goods;

(c) some limitation of the subsidy which the Jewish state would pay to the Arab state under the arrangement for an equal distribution of the customs surplus. According to their calculations subsidy would at present amount to four million pounds a year, that was to say four per cent of the national income of the Jewish state; they were prepared to accept this price; but customs receipts had doubled in the last two years and if as they anticipated they would again double in the next two years the subsidy would rise to eight millions; they could not agree to payment of so high a tribute; it would amount to one-third of the national income of the Arab state;

(d) freedom in exchange control while maintaining a common currency; this was essential since the Jewish state would be dependent on international credit.

5. After some discussion of the points raised by Horowitz it was agreed that the representatives of the United States and Guatemala should discuss them further with the Jewish Agency and present a revised draft to the sub-committee.

6. Although at the beginning of the afternoon meeting Evatt had while granting the sub-committee an extension of time urged that every effort be made to report by Monday, it was decided that meetings should not be resumed until to-morrow so as to allow time for examination of specific proposals by working groups.

Foreign Office please pass Immediate to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 130.

[Copy sent to Telegraph Section, Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem].

333

262

E

E 10205 | 133

1 NOV

PALESTINE

1941

Registry Number } E10205/951/21

TELEGRAM FROM UK Del New York.

No. 3139

Dated 31 Oct

Received in Registry } 1 Nov

Modification of UNSCOP Boundaries.

Refer New York tel 3105 (E10126/951/21) asks information whether Jordan Exploration Co's oil prospecting licences cover area along Dead Sea in Hebron sub-district which Jewish Agency claims included in Jewish State also whether trial bores sunk by the Co lie within the area.

Last Paper.

10177

References.

(Minutes.)

(C.J.E. CABLE) 1/11

JB NW. 3

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8, Matheson PO
M.13a
MO.4
Admty
A.M.
(on E10137) Nov 4

(Action completed.)

(Index)

31/8/48

Next Paper.

10206

F 134
END

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL NO.1.

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No.3139
31st October, 1947.

D. 5.54 p.m. 31st October, 1947.
R. 12.16 a.m. 1st November, 1947.

IMMEDIATE

Please pass Jerusalem.

[Begins].

Addressed to High Commissioner Jerusalem telegram No.133 of 31st October.

Secret.

Please confirm that Jordan Exploration Company's oil prospecting licenses cover area along Dead Sea in Hebron sub-district which Jewish Agency desires included in Jewish State. (Paragraph 1(f) of my telegram No.3105 to Foreign Office refers). It would also be interesting to know whether trial bores recently sunk by this company lie within this area.

2. In this connexion it may be added that in a memorandum regarding position of Palestine Potash Limited submitted to Ad Hoc Committee by Novomeysky it is stated that "plans have already been made for extension of evaporation pans of southern works to Masada plain on western shore of Dead Sea, which is some kilometres north of southern end of Dead Sea". Request of company is that provision should be made in plan for future government of Palestine whereby jurisdiction over the company's works and lands and operations generally shall be vested exclusively in one authority which can be counted on to protect company's interest and property; memorandum suggests that "this can best be achieved by extending south eastern boundary of proposed Jewish state northwards along western shore of Dead Sea so as to include whole of that shore to a depth of say, from five to seven kilometres from water line".

[Copy sent to Telegraph Section, Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem].

QQQ